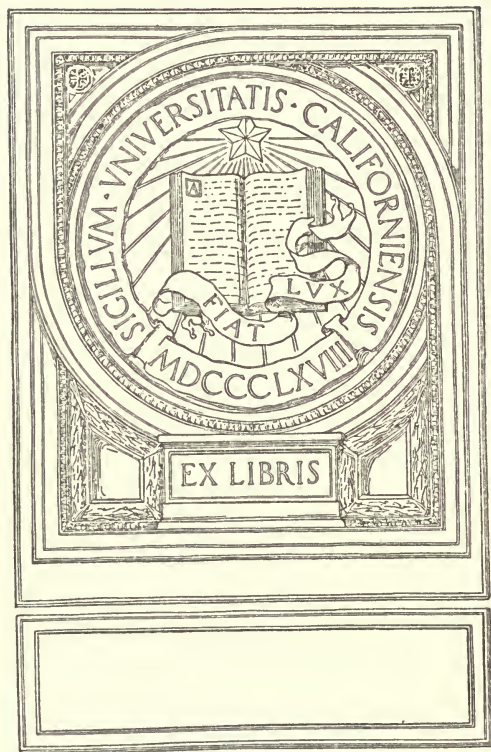


Robert Hale Bancroft.

12/1/73





Robert Hale Bancroft
Providence November 3. 1859.

AN INQUIRY

INTO

B. W. Wey, Horace

THE FORMATION

OF

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

"And harmonize what seems amiss to flow
As severed from the whole,
And dimly understood."

ED. OF
PHILADELPHIA

PHILADELPHIA:

PARRY & McMILLAN, PUBLISHERS.

1859.

E 312
.95
B 5

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1859,

BY C. SHERMAN & SON,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

TO THE
HONORABLE
THE CLERK OF THE DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA

C. SHERMAN & SON, PRINTERS,
Corner of Seventh and Cherry Streets, Philadelphia.

P R E F A C E.

IF the title of this paper had substituted the word Authorship for the word Formation, it would have contained the ambiguity which it is the object of the Inquiry to clear away. There are not many words in our language that describe a greater variety of operations than the word Author. From the first step in production, even from the mandate to produce a work of any kind, to the perfect completion of the work, there are many relations to it, and at times several contributions to it, which may make more persons than one authors of it, in different senses, with equal justice and exclusiveness. And only something short of this is the word Authorship; which, though it signifies the quality of being an author, and therefore may comprehend that quality in regard to any property of any subject, yet seems to be generally confined to literary works or compositions in writing, and to admit of nothing being truly predicated of it, except in this relation. The word Authorship is large enough, however, in this limited application, to include more than one person as possessing this quality in regard to the same thing; and in the rather jealous domain of literature, if different persons have contributed to the same written composition, it sometimes happens that the application of the word in honor of one rather than another of them, is the occasion of very lively disputes, where there is perhaps little or no difference of opinion about the respective contributions of the parties, or no previous analysis to ascertain what the respective contributions were. This word has therefore been care-

fully excluded from the title, and will be as carefully avoided in the Inquiry, unless with some attendant definition or description, to show the sense in which it is used. Undoubtedly a written composition may have been so much the mixed work of two persons, that the authorship of it in some sense may be justly attributed to both. Where the contributions are well discriminated, the respective authorships may be attributed to each. In which class the Farewell Address will fall, or whether it will fall into either, is reserved for the judgment of the reader, at the conclusion of the Inquiry.

The writer's aim in this essay, has been certainty in the facts, and accuracy in his deductions from them. He has therefore scrupulously endeavored to avoid embellishment in either of these respects, while he has been regardless of it in any other. He hopes that the result will give equal relief to the friends of Washington and to the friends of Hamilton, who for the most part were the same persons while the objects of their regard were living, some appearances to the contrary notwithstanding. It cannot be denied that there have been since, as there were in the previous day, several appearances which have manifested greater favor to Washington and less to Hamilton, independently of the pre-eminent military and patriotic services of the former; and that these appearances still continue, and have been much enlarged; but perhaps with this distinction, that Washington is praised more and followed less, while Hamilton is praised less, and, at least in the great mass of fiscal, commercial, and judicial principles and arrangements, which he recommended for the Treasury and for the country, is followed more. But the probability, nevertheless, is, that the friends of both, as supporters of the same policy, are still the same persons. Their number will increase, no doubt, from day to day, as these great men shall become more thoroughly known by their writings, and more impartially compared with others; but it is to their friends only, present and to come, that the writer can promise himself to supply either facts or deductions in regard to the Farewell Address, that will be of any considerable interest.

The manner in which Alexander Hamilton's connection with the Farewell Address of Washington has been occasionally written and spoken about, has been a source of discomfort to many persons who have a great admiration for that remarkable man; and perhaps of as much discomfort from the bearing of these remarks upon Washington, as from their bearing upon Hamilton. To all persons who possess, in the same degree with the writer of this paper, a profound veneration for the whole character of the Father of his Country, and at the same time an exalted respect for the intellectual and personal qualities of Hamilton, it must have been for years past a cause of disturbance, to perceive that by some persons the composition of the Address has been regarded either as an unsupported pretension on the side of Hamilton, or as an assistance which he should have taken effectual means to conceal forever; and by others, as a transcript by Washington, with a view to unneedful honor, of what another had written, fundamental or guiding thoughts, and all.

That Washington, like other executive chiefs, or heads of military command, consulted his ministers, officers, and friends, and was sometimes obliged to use their pens for the expression or the arrangement of his thoughts, is not only probable but certain. He left behind him some traces of this wise practice, and it was more than once avowed by him; but that he had done this at any time and under any circumstances, with such an appeal, either expressed or understood, as would reflect upon his minister or friend if he left a trace of his contributions among his papers, or that in the instance of this great paper he had cloaked the service so carefully as to imply a corresponding duty on the other side to do the same, for the purpose of leaving the honors of the entire written composition with him, is a thought that cannot be recalled without the greatest repugnance, from both its aspects. In this last case, the character of each party was a guarantee that whatever was asked or done was properly asked and done; that there was no vain-glory on either side, no sense of humiliation or superiority, no aspiration for the honors of authorship at the expense of either truth or loyalty.

alty, but just such a contribution on each side, if there were two contributing parties, as would leave to the principal party the merit and the responsibility of the fundamental thoughts, and to the other the merit of expanding, defending, and presenting them in the most suitable form, a task which public engagements, or a particular turn of mind, may have made unusual to the one, while it was habitual and easy to the other; and that no sense of honor had been wounded, nor any pretension of vanity consulted, by leaving the traces of a joint co-operation, just as each party has left them. Such as the character of both Washington and Hamilton gave assurance that the co-operation, if it took place, would be, such upon very full examination of the facts, it turns out to have been. The reader will probably regard the character of each, after he has considered the proofs, with as much esteem and admiration as he felt before the fact of co-operation was known to him. It is not improbable that he will regard it with even greater.

A recent perusal of the correspondence between Washington and Hamilton, in regard to the Farewell Address, has led to the preparation of this paper. Part of that correspondence, the letters of Washington, has been in print for some years, and is to be found in the Congress edition of Hamilton's works. The letters of Hamilton to Washington have not been heretofore printed. The writer did not keep a copy of any of them. The originals were found among the papers of Washington, at the time of his death, and copies of them have been supplied by Mr. Sparks, the Editor of Washington's writings, and the author of his biography, to Mr. John C. Hamilton, the author of *Hamilton's Life*, and of "*The History of the Republic*," now in course of publication, who has given me permission to print them. I am indebted to the same gentleman for permission to print certain other papers, derived by him from the kindness of Mr. Sparks, which enable me to identify the original or preparatory draught by Washington of a Farewell Address, as the same which he sent to Hamilton on the 15th May, 1796, and which became the basis of Hamilton's work. The permission of Mr. Hamilton enables

me to place a copy of this preparatory paper in an appendix. The originals of Hamilton's letters to Washington, and Washington's original draught, were, I understand, deposited in the office of the Department of State, after the conclusion of Mr. Sparks's great work; but Mr. Hamilton informs me, that by order of Mr. Marcy, when Secretary of State, diligent search was made, at Mr. Hamilton's request, and these letters and draught were not found.

For the greater convenience of the reader, I have appended to this Essay, 1. A copy of Washington's original or preparatory draught of a Farewell Address; 2. A copy of Hamilton's "Abstract of Points to form an Address;" 3. A copy of Hamilton's original draught of an Address; 4. Washington's Farewell Address, conforming to the record of it in the Department of State; and 5. A copy of Washington's autograph paper, from which the Farewell Address was printed. I should not have felt at liberty to use for this purpose the reprint of that autograph paper in the appendix to the fifth volume of Mr. Irving's *Life of Washington*; but I have been favored, through Mr. Hamilton, with a permission to reprint it, by its proprietor, Mr. Lenox, who printed a very fine edition of it for private distribution. The pagings in Mr. Irving's appendix, are noted in this reprint, to facilitate a reader in tracing my references to that appendix.

HORACE BINNEY.

PHILADELPHIA, August 9, 1859.



AN INQUIRY, ETC.

FROM the first publication of Washington's Farewell Address, in September, 1796, it has never been universally agreed, that the paper was written altogether by the illustrious man whose name is subscribed to it.

The first intimations of doubt on this point, were confined to private conversation or society, and with the admission that the paper spoke Washington's well-known sentiments, and was not above the high intellectual capacity he had uniformly exhibited; but the doubt was excused by suggestions, that the paper wanted the presence of Washington's characteristic forms of expression and construction, and that it manifested more systematic arrangement and connection, with fuller argumental supports, than were usual in his writings.

This language was confined, also, to comparatively few persons, as only a few were, at that time, familiar with Washington's writings. But in subsequent years, as this familiarity was enlarged, and as rival or unfriendly sentiments towards Washington and some of his confidential friends, were more disposed to reveal themselves, the doubts grew stronger; and, as special facts bearing upon the question

came out from time to time, they became more general. At length there arose a popular repugnance to the opinion, which in some degree suppressed further curiosity and inquiry. The deep and undivided reverence of the people for Washington, was unwilling to learn, that, even on an occasion of ceremony, he had worn any vesture but his own. It was, perhaps, a prejudice; but it was a natural one, in such a country as ours was, and some of it may still remain. The lapse of more years, however, and the express mention of Alexander Hamilton's name as an assistant in the work, opened the inquiry again,—always in the most deferential manner towards Washington, but with new features, tending to diversify opinions upon the matter, and in a certain degree to embitter them; until finally three varieties of opinion were found to prevail, none of them strictly accordant with the absolute truth, yet all of them professing the most elevated respect for Washington. They probably divide the country at the present time. It has been a remarkable test of the universal admiration and love of Washington among us, that no one of these opinions has ever disclosed or involved the least abatement in the love of any of his countrymen towards this immortal man, whose priority in all hearts has become the established heritage of his name forever.

One of these varieties of opinion, existing perhaps as early as any, among persons in immediate proximity to Washington, but not then revealed to any extent, and which had no special basis of fact whatever for it, was, that the Farewell Address was a transcript by Washington of Hamilton's thoughts as well as language. Those who entertained this opinion, derived it, probably, from what they

erroneously thought was Washington's frequent practice in his public writings.*

Another variety, with more, but still incomplete, knowledge of the facts to sustain it, and with a natural partiality to incline it to assign the largest contribution of every ingredient to Washington, though without undervaluing either the talents or the direct contributions of Hamilton, regarded the Address as the joint work of both, but the preponderant work of Washington in all respects—Washington's style in its language, as much as his judgment in the plan, or his sentiments in the principles. It conceded to Hamilton a considerable share, but left the contributing shares of each of the parties perfectly indefinite.

The third variety of opinion was that of a very eminent and excellent man, from whom it passed to others, with a result as erroneous as the opinion first noticed, and more erroneous than the second, being at the same time more definite in the wrong direction.†

This eminent man, perfectly acquainted with one important fact in the case, bearing upon Hamilton's connection with the Address, and entirely unacquainted with all the rest, reasoned from this fact as if it had been the only fact in the case, and closely restricted the bearing of it, by an opinion of his own, which certainly was not Washington's, that the Farewell Address was in some emphatic way, "a *personal* act—of choice, not of official duty—and was so

* This thought may be seen in a remarkable letter by the elder President Adams, to Dr. Benjamin Rush, dated 28th August, 1811. "Works of John Adams," vol. ix, p. 639.

† John Jay. Letter to the Hon. Richard Peters, 29th March, 1811. Life and Writings of John Jay, vol. ii, p. 336.

“connected with other obvious considerations, that he (Washington) *only*, could with propriety write it.”

This positive and explicit opinion, which resulted in the conclusion, not directly expressed, but necessarily implied by the whole letter from which the above extract is taken, that Washington was the *only* writer of the Farewell Address, and Hamilton no more than the corrector or emendator of Washington's original draught, has had decisive weight with a great many persons; and from the character of the writer, and the solemnity with which he expressed his opinion, and gave the details of his personal knowledge, could not but have such weight. It inclined the scale, before the opposing evidence could be fairly weighed against it; and it will incline it, until that evidence is exhibited and deliberately weighed.

From the time that this letter was published, in 1833, and, in only a less extensive degree, from the time of its date, in 1811, the question assumed an invidious bearing towards Alexander Hamilton, and on the other hand, towards the principal party also; and has at length become almost a moral question, involving a breach of faith or honor on Hamilton's part, and of some assumption of another's merit on the part of Washington, without the countenance of any other circumstance in their respective lives to justify or excuse an imputation of this nature.

In a certain state of opinion respecting the authorship of the Farewell Address, it would have been agreeable to concur in a part of Mr. Sparks's remarks on this subject, in the twelfth volume of Washington's Writings, of which he was the editor; “that the manner in which that Address originated is one of small moment, since its real importance

“consists in its being known to contain the sentiments of Washington, uttered on a solemn occasion, and designed for the benefit of his countrymen.” There is no reason to question the propriety of this remark; nor would there be any indisposition to stop there, if Mr. Sparks and others had stopped there. But Mr. Sparks has proceeded in the same place to examine the question of origin to some extent, and has expressed his opinions upon the whole subject, generally with candor, and always with a fair estimate of Hamilton’s intellectual powers, and of his special aid in the preparation of this Address; but without making all the discriminations which the evidence supports, and with rather a measurable valuation of the Address itself as a literary composition, so as to leave the merits of it on a less elevated grade than they ought to occupy, and the relative contributions of both Washington and Hamilton to the work, in greater obscurity than, now at least, there is any necessity for. Mr. Sparks also has explained, or excused, this obscurity, by an implication that in some degree tarnishes the honor of Hamilton; for, as Hamilton did *preserve*, that is to say, did not destroy, the original draught of the address he had prepared for Washington, and did likewise preserve the original letters of Washington upon that subject, as well as upon others, it is certainly a tacit reflection upon Hamilton’s honor, for having done this, to say, “that in a case of so confidential a nature, and in which his honor was so much concerned, it may be supposed that Hamilton *would not preserve* every communication that he received.” All this on the part of Mr. Sparks has been, perhaps inadvertently and unconsciously, colored or promoted, by reflections from another paper previously published, to which he refers, the

letter of Mr. Jay to Judge Peters; which ought to have had no such effect, and can have none at all at this day, when the facts are more accurately known. It is not reasonable, therefore, in this state of Mr. Sparks's impressions, to abide by the general proposition he seems to espouse, though it is not very clearly stated, that Washington himself was the composer or writer of the paper, though with important assistance from Hamilton. It might have been left there, but for this reflection upon Hamilton's name; for the question is really of no moral importance, however interesting it may be as a matter of historical or literary curiosity; and Hamilton's reputation as a writer and thinker, on questions of public policy, requires nothing to be added to it, and can gain nothing by a decision on this point in his favor, which it may not very safely do without. But those who honor Hamilton's patriotism and pure integrity, and his elevated character in all respects, cannot be contented to let any obscurity rest upon the point, which there is light enough in the evidence to remove; especially under an hypothesis, that Hamilton, from motives of honor, did not preserve, that is to say, did destroy, papers which would have made the point clear, while at the same time he did not destroy, that is to say, did preserve, the principal paper by which his claims, whatever they may be, are to be determined. This is an uneasy state of the question to many persons. It is quite possible that Mr. Sparks did not perceive the full bearing of his remark; and it is possible, also, that the friends of Hamilton have seen more point in the remark than Mr. Sparks intended to give it. But it has by this, and like causes, become a duty, both to Hamilton and Washington, to go over the whole matter

upon original grounds, which is the direct object of this Inquiry.

It need not be said—for this will become obvious by the whole cast of these remarks—that my reverence for Washington, my admiration of him, my interest in his true glory, even in his honor in all that regards the Farewell Address, are not, and never have been, inferior to those of any person I have known; and at the same time, that none of these sentiments impair those I have always entertained in the like respects for Hamilton. It will only be necessary for me to follow the greater interests of truth, to show my personal admiration of both, and to do justice to each in the matter of this celebrated paper.

I shall endeavor to make these statements as plain and clear as possible; abating none of their plainness and clearness by a vain effort for literary effect. This may, perhaps, take more space than may be agreeable to all; but those who have an interest in the question, will not be unwilling, perhaps, to give the necessary time and attention to it, if they shall perceive that the examination is conducted in a calm and impartial spirit, with an orderly arrangement and an ample citation of proofs, a careful deduction of inferences, and a full concentration of all these influences upon the published Farewell Address of Washington.

I shall be under a necessity, in order to avoid a heavy mass of quotations, of asking the reader to refer to the printed and published works I shall name, if he desires more full information than my extracts will give him, or wishes to test my accuracy in making them; and when I shall offer a comparison between the original draught of an address by Hamilton, and the Farewell Address signed and

dated by Washington, on the 17th September, 1796, and published by him to the country, I shall ask the reader to make, with the exception of two or three clauses collated in the Inquiry, the entire collation or comparison himself, with the two papers under his eye, to save me from exhibiting, what some persons might deem an invidious parallel, if they were placed side by side, in opposite columns or pages.

It seems worthy of particular remark at the outset, that Washington does not appear to have intended, at any time, to be the unassisted composer or writer of the Farewell Address. Though it was not, strictly speaking, an official paper, nor a state paper, appertaining to the regular duties of his political office, and for which he might, and usually did, refer to his official ministers and advisers, and sometimes to approved friends, for thoughts and clauses, that he might consider and apply, or modify or reject, at his pleasure,—it was a paper, in his regard, of a higher grade, and calling for even more consideration, as it was to be in the nature of a testamentary declaration of his political principles, as well as to impart his counsels, and to express his personal thanks and valediction to the whole people of the United States.

The original conception, the fundamental thought, purpose, or design of this paper, was Washington's; his first, and it would seem his only, upon separate consideration and deliberation, until the purpose was matured, when he communicated it to another, who approved it. That design comprehended, in addition to his cordial and thankful farewell, upon retiring from civil life, a recommendation of various patriotic counsels and admonitions to his countrymen, which should bring before them the blessings of their

union under a federal government, the perfect adaptation of their diversified soil and climate to such a union, the advantages of their mutual dependence and intercommunity, their common relation to foreign nations, and the dangers of either local or foreign partialities and antipathies, and of party spirit in all its shapes, whether of combinations to control or obstruct the action of regular authority, or of pervading jealousy to weaken its effects, or of virulent opposition and censure, to discourage and drive from public office the faithful servants who had been selected to administer it. In a word, the advantages and the dangers of the whole country, and the maintenance of the Union, under a wise and equal administration, as the best security and defence of the public happiness, were to be his theme ; and no man ever suggested a nobler theme, or was more worthy by his patriotism, or so well entitled by his services, to make it the subject of his final discourse and instruction. It was a paper far above all ordinary official or state papers, was related to topics as high or higher, involving equal or greater responsibility, addressed to greater numbers, and asking a perpetual remembrance by the people, as they should tender their political existence.

That Washington ought to have thought that such an address was so personal, or “ so connected with other obvious “ considerations,” that he *only* “ could with propriety write “ it,” is a pure fancy, if we take in the whole of Washington’s thought. Instead of such considerations being “ obvious,” they are not even discoverable. No satisfactory reason can be given for the proposition, that would not have made it his duty to write everything that purported to express his personal sentiments, whether official or unoffi-

cial—his speeches to Congress, and everything emanating from his public position. No reason of any kind was given for it by Mr. Jay, in the place where it was first announced. Upon the same hypothesis, whatever it may have been, he ought not to have asked for thoughts, or revision and correction for his own draught of this paper, or for any assistance whatever, which was the very thing that was asked of him who has made the criticism; and this would bring the Address to a schoolboy exercise, that was to try Washington's progress in composition, and to bring dishonor upon him, if he borrowed a feather, or a feather's weight, from anybody else.

It is sufficient, however, to know that this thought was not Washington's thought, upon this or any other occasion of public concern. He thought the contrary, clearly and constantly, in regard to the Farewell Address. He thought it a year or more before the end of his first term of office as President; and he thought it till the matter was consummated, about six months before the end of his last term. By a letter dated the 20th May, 1792, he first opened the subject freely to Mr. Madison.

His letter, and Mr. Madison's reply, and the draught of a Farewell Address prepared by Madison, at Washington's request, appear in the twelfth volume of "The Writings of George Washington," edited by Jared Sparks, in pages 382 to 390. I will present a summary of Washington's letter, and some extracts from it, in this place.

After saying that he was unable to dispose his mind to a longer continuation in the office he held, and that he looked forward with the fondest and most ardent wishes to spend the remainder of his days, which he could not expect to be

long, in ease and tranquillity,—and saying further, that nothing, but a conviction that by declining the chair of government, it would involve the country in serious disputes respecting the Chief Magistrate, could induce him to relinquish the determination he had formed, Washington proceeded to say as follows:—

“Under these impressions, then, permit me to reiterate the request I made to you at our last meeting, namely, to think of the proper time and best mode of announcing the intention; and that you would prepare the latter.” . . . “I would fain carry my request to you farther than is asked above, although I am sensible that your compliance with it must add to your trouble; but as the recess may afford you leisure, and I flatter myself you have dispositions to oblige me, I will, without apology, desire (if the measure in itself should strike you as proper, or likely to produce public good, or private honor) that you would turn your thoughts to a valedictory address from me to the public, expressing, in plain and modest terms, that, having been honored with the Presidential chair, and to the best of my abilities contributed to the organization and administration of the government—that having arrived at a period of life when the private walks of it, in the shades of retirement, become necessary, and will be most pleasing to me;—(and as the spirit of the government may render a rotation in the elective officers of it more congenial with the ideas [the people have] of liberty and safety*)—that I take my leave of them

* I possess a *fac simile* of Washington's letter of 20th May, 1792, to Mr. Madison, to which, in this place, the copy in Mr. Sparks's Appendix does not literally conform. I do not vouch for this *fac simile*, though the resemblance to Washington's handwriting, which is familiar to me, is perfect; and the copy in Mr. Sparks's Appendix, in other respects, conforms to it. The clause, in the *fac simile* to which I refer, is as follows, without marks of parenthesis, but beginning where the first mark of parenthesis in Mr. Sparks's copy, which I follow, begins, after the words “pleasing to me;”—“and the spirit of the government may render a rotation in the elective officers of it more congenial with

“as a public man, and, in bidding them adieu, retaining no other
 “concern than such as will arise from fervent wishes for the pros-
 “perity of my country, I take the liberty of my departure from
 “civil [life], as I formerly did at my military exit, to invoke a
 “continuation of the blessings of Providence upon it, and upon all
 “those who are the supporters of its interests, and the promoters
 “of harmony, order, and good government.” . . . “That, to im-
 “press these things, it might, among other topics, be observed”—

and then the letter proceeds to state, and very briefly de-
 velope, *four* topics, which, with very little variation of
 Washington's words, may, in his own order, be represented
 as follows: 1. That we are all children of the same country,
 great and rich in itself, and capable and promising to be as
 prosperous and happy as any which the annals of history have
 brought to view; and that our interest, however diversified
 in local or smaller matters, is the same in all the great and
 essential concerns of the nation. 2. That the extent of our
 country, the diversity of our climate and soil, and the various
 productions of the States, are such as to make one part not only
 convenient, but indispensable to other parts, and may render
 the whole one of the most independent nations in the world.
 3. That the government, being the work of our hands, with
 the seeds of amendment engrafted in the Constitution, may,
 by wisdom, good dispositions, and mutual allowances, aided

“their ideas of liberty and safety, that I take my leave of them as a public man,” &c.
 I have heard, and have no reason to doubt, that the *fac simile* was made from the ori-
 ginal letter, which came from a member of Mr. Madison's family, after Mr. Madison's
 death. The word [life] within brackets is subject to my preceding remark; it is not
 in the *fac simile*. Indeed, this manner of bracketing words in a copy, is understood, I
 believe, to be an intimation that the original does not contain the bracketed word or
 words.

by experience, be brought as near to perfection as any human institution has ever been; and, therefore, that the only strife should be, who should be foremost in facilitating, and finally accomplishing, such great objects, by giving every possible support and cement to the Union. 4. And here Washington's full words are extracted: "that however necessary it may be to keep a watchful eye over public servants and public measures, yet there ought to be limits to it; for suspicions unfounded, and jealousies too lively, are irritating to honest feelings, and oftentimes are productive of more evil than good."

Then coming more generally to the office Madison was asked to perform, the letter says:—

"To enumerate the various subjects which might be introduced into such an address, would require thought, and to mention them to you would be unnecessary, as your own judgment will comprehend all that will be proper. Whether to touch specifically any of the exceptionable parts of the Constitution, may be doubted. All that I shall add, therefore, at present, is, to beg the favor of you to consider, first, the propriety of such an address; secondly, if approved, the several matters which ought to be contained in it; thirdly, the time it should appear, that is, whether at the declaration of my intention to withdraw from the service of the public, or to let it be the closing act of my administration, which will end with the next session of Congress."

There is one more clause in the letter, the final clause, a part of which will be adverted to presently; but, by what is already shown, it is manifest that Washington asked Madison both to write for him and to think for him in this behalf; and that he guided Madison in regard only to cer-

tain topics, leaving to him an unlimited range as to others, subject, of course, to his own revision and judgment, in which he appears, at all times, to have possessed the fullest confidence, whether in deciding upon his own capacity and language, or upon the capacity and language of another. And it is made further manifest, that, so far from regarding the Address as a merely personal paper, it was to be, in one contingency of time, what Washington called "*the closing act of his administration*;" thus bringing it at once into the category of public and official papers.

This, however, is not all that is made plain by the letter, as plain by what it does not say, as by what it does. Certainly, it was a letter that showed confidence and trust, and so it must have been understood by the parties; and it demanded reserve and silence at the time on the part of Madison, from the uncertainty whether Washington would retire, as he wished to do, and from the consequences that would have resulted from bruiting his purpose prematurely to the world. This motive for silence and reserve continued to the time of Washington's final determination, in the beginning of 1796, and even later than that, as will hereafter be seen. But there is not a word about secrecy in the letter. It is not *headed* "confidential," nor *described* as confidential, to restrict the knowledge of it to the parties only; and the last clause of the letter proves, that in Washington's mind, the confidence, as to the Farewell Address, stood upon the same footing as if the subject had been the President's speech at the opening of Congress; for in precisely the same condition of confidence as in the matter of the Farewell Address, Washington adverted to the approaching session of Congress, and said:—

“I beg leave to draw your attention, also, to such things as you shall conceive fit subjects for communication on that occasion; and, noting them as they occur, that you would be so good as to provide me with them in time to be prepared and engrafted with the others for the opening of the session.”

Since the death of both Washington and Hamilton, a notion of some special honorary secrecy and confidence, in this reference for advice and assistance in the matter of the Farewell Address, has been blended with the consideration of the whole subject, and has led to both misconceptions and misrepresentations. If the thought is analyzed with any care, it will be found to contain, if I may follow Mr. Jefferson's authority for a word, that sort of *belittling* appeal to honor, which one lady of fashion makes to another, when she borrows her diamonds to show off in. There is no trace or implication of the feeling in this first letter to Mr. Madison; and those who have suggested it, in some disparagement of Hamilton, do not appear to have considered how equally it casts back upon the party by whom the appeal was made, if it was made or intended. A motive for the honorary secrecy must be imputed to Washington, before the preservation of papers which reveal its object, can be imputed to Madison or to Hamilton. If the preservation of such papers involves Madison or Hamilton in the indelicacy of violating secrecy for his own advantage, against the understanding and wish of Washington, that understanding and wish must involve Washington in the vanity of desiring to pass as the unassisted author of every part of the Address. There is not a circumstance in the life of either Washington or Hamilton, that justifies the one imputation or the other; and a body of proofs will be

hereafter submitted, which, if any thing can prove a negative, will prove that the purpose and thought, in the particular case, were equally absent from both.

It is unnecessary to say much, in this place, about Mr. Madison's draught of a Farewell Address. It is printed at length in Mr. Sparks's edition of Washington's Writings. It is a rather curt paper, not occupying in the whole three full pages of Mr. Sparks's Appendix, even with an alternative clause, which was to be omitted, if the notification of Washington's purpose to retire, and the expression of his counsels and cautions, should make but one paper. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Mr. Madison, at that time, may have known himself to be drawn further away from the policy of Washington, than Washington was aware of. His feelings of delicacy in the transaction may have been heightened by the circumstance. The fact is historically true; and Madison's draught foreshadowed the proof of it. Madison confined himself, in his draught, mainly to a repetition of Washington's suggestions, developing them to a very moderate extent only, and not using at all the power delegated to him, to comprehend other topics. He aimed, as his reply to Washington imports, at that plainness and modesty of language which Washington had in view, to the extent, as Washington's copy of this paper in his own original draught, will show, of making him speak of his own "*very fallible judgment*," of which Washington had not spoken in his letter, and of his "*inferior qualifications for the trust*"—a disclaimer of what the unprejudiced part of the world knew him to possess in a remarkable degree; and did little more, and says himself that he "had little more to do, as to the matter, than to follow the just and comprehensive outline

“which Washington had sketched.” In one particular, and it was an awakening one, Mr. Madison fell short of even this.

It may be observed, that Washington's language, in the *fourth* of the topics expressly suggested by him to Madison, is very-explicit. In that paragraph the principle assumed is, that, “however necessary it may be to keep a watchful “eye over public servants and public measures,”—and Washington affirms nothing in regard to this necessity,—he does affirm distinctly, that “there ought to be limits to “it; for unfounded suspicions and jealousies too lively, are “irritating to honest feelings, and oftentimes are more pro- “ductive of evil than good.”

Every one knows that Washington had been stung and irritated by the party arrows that were shot at him personally, as well as at certain members of his administration; but the breadth and depth of this irritation, and the direction in which it spread, are not so well known. Some of his papers reveal it with little disguise. He therefore meant to assert, in the paragraph referred to, that a liberal confidence in public servants was, in such a government as ours, the true *principle*, and a watchful eye only a *qualification* of that principle. Madison's draught, on the contrary, places among the vows which Washington would carry to his retirement and to his grave, “that its administration, in “every department, may be stamped with wisdom and virtue, “and that this character *may be insured* to it, by that watch- “fulness which, on one hand, *will be necessary* to prevent or “correct a degeneracy, and that forbearance, on the other, “from *unfounded* or *indiscriminate* jealousies, which would “deprive the public of the best services, by depriving a “conscious integrity of the noblest incitements to perform “them.”

→ This seems to have been rather an inversion of Washington's meaning, than even a dilution of it; for by position, as well as by force of the terms, it affirms watchfulness to be the principle, and forbearance the qualification. Though Washington may have observed this, he retained this form of statement, in so much of the paper he afterwards prepared as was taken from Madison's draught, restating, however, in the initial and final paragraphs of his own section of that paper, the vital part of the same sentiment, which he had thus emphasized in his letter to Madison. Hamilton certainly observed it, and Washington finally held to a less questionable expression of his views, as will be seen hereafter; and it will also be seen that Hamilton brings forward in his original draught, modified by himself or Washington afterwards, the substance of Washington's principle, and philosophically supports it by a distinction between "governments of a monarchical character" ← "or bias," and governments of a merely elective and popular kind.

→ The proposition of Washington, in his letter to Madison, might be regarded as true in the abstract, supposing a democracy to possess virtue, the "one spring more," which Montesquieu thinks is necessary to it. But the past experience of our own institutions, compels us to regard it practically as Utopian. If it was not applied in our first and purest administration of government, it is not likely to be applied in any. Mr. Madison must have known, from the *res gestæ* of times then shortly past and passing before him, that he could not safely commit himself, even as a representative pen, to the plain enunciation of Washington's principle. Hamilton also, perhaps, saw that it was impracticable;

but he knew it to be Washington's pure and noble thought, and therefore clothed it in the safest terms in his draught of an Address.

As Washington surrendered his wish to retire at the end of his first term of office, the use of Madison's draught was postponed, until the subject recurred, in the course of Washington's second term, when his determination to retire became absolute, and he proceeded to the preparation of another Farewell Address.

The purpose of this Inquiry calls for some precision in the reference to proofs or authorities, to show the course of Washington in this second preparation. All of these proofs have been for several years before the public, in authentic printed volumes, with the exception of Hamilton's replies to Washington's letters, and parts of Washington's original or preparatory draught. The case might have been better understood than it seems to have been, even without the publication of these excepted parts; but, as there appears to be now but a single link of the chain wanting, and that not an indispensable one, namely, the copy of Hamilton's original draught which he sent to Washington, amending considerably the original draught, which he retained, and is now printed in his works, it may assist the reader to have before him, in one view, a statement of all the proofs I shall have occasion to refer to in the course of this Inquiry. They are as follows:—

1. The Appendix to the twelfth volume of Mr. Sparks's "Writings of George Washington," No. III; "Washington's Farewell Address," pages 382 to 398, inclusive. This paper contains copies of the letters between Washington and Madison, on the subject of the Address—a copy of

Madison's draught—and two portions of Washington's preparatory draught, made before he consulted Hamilton. These portions consisted, 1st, of Madison's draught, and, 2d, of an original paper by Washington, bearing in Mr. Sparks's Appendix the title or heading of HINTS OR HEADS OF TOPICS.

2. The letters from Washington to Hamilton, on the subject of the Farewell Address, the originals of which are now in the Department of State, and the printed copies are to be found in the sixth volume of "*The Works of Alexander Hamilton, comprising his Correspondence, and his Political and Official Writings, exclusive of the Federalist, Civil and Military, published from the Original Manuscripts in the Department of State, by Order of the Joint Library Committee of Congress. Edited by John C. Hamilton, author of a Life of Hamilton.*" The letters in that work are printed in the order of date, and the date of the particular letter referred to in this Inquiry, will be a guide to the volume and place where it may be found.

3. Hamilton's letters to Washington on the same subject. An extract from the first of these in point of date (10th May, 1796), is printed in the Appendix to the twelfth volume of Washington's Writings, page 391, in the paper of Mr. Sparks, headed "Washington's Farewell Address." The originals of all the other letters of Hamilton on this subject, as well as the first, were at one time in the possession of Mr. Sparks; and copies of them, supplied by him as I understand, are now in my possession. They will be either copied at large, or quoted in every material part, if the letter refers to other matters. The originals, it is understood, were finally deposited in the Department of State. Whether they are all now there, is, I understand, uncertain.

4. Washington's original draught of an Address, sent by him to Hamilton, on the 15th May, 1796, for the purposes described in Washington's letter of that date. I give this title to a paper left by Washington at his death, and which subsequently was in Mr. Sparks's possession, for the purposes of his edition of Washington's Writings. Mr. Sparks has supplied a copy of the beginning and conclusion of this paper to Mr. Hamilton, the author of Hamilton's life, by whose permission I use them. The two middle parts are printed in Mr. Sparks's Appendix. One of them is Madison's draught; the other is the paper entitled "Hints or Heads of Topics." Together they constitute the entire draught, as it appears in the Appendix to this Inquiry. The lines which Washington altered, by drawing a line through them, though perfectly legible in the paper, are not material, and are supplied by asterisks. The words he interlined, to connect what is disjoined by the erasure, are printed in italics on the body of the page in the Appendix.

5. Hamilton's "Abstract of points to form an Address;" printed in Hamilton's Works, vol. vii, p. 570.

6. Hamilton's original draught of the Farewell Address; printed in the same volume, page 575.

7. Mr. Jay's letter to Judge Peters, dated 29th March, 1811; in the second volume of the Life of John Jay, by his son William Jay, at page 336.

8. The Farewell Address to the People of the United States, by Washington, dated 17th September, 1796; in the twelfth volume of Washington's Writings, edited by Jared Sparks, at page 214.

9. The reprint of the autograph copy of Washington's Farewell Address, with certain clauses and words which had

been cancelled in the autograph copy, now restored and printed at the foot of the respective pages.

These are all the authorities which are necessary to determine the respective contributions of Washington and Hamilton to the Farewell Address; and they are all accessible, in original or copy, in their original completeness. And it is remarkable that they are not only all that is necessary to this end, but that some of them supply irresistible negative proof, that nothing occurred personally, or face to face, between Washington and Hamilton, to affect the inferences which the written or printed documents justify; for, except a single personal interview between them, before the correspondence began, which interview, the correspondence shows, had no influence whatever on the subsequent work of either of the parties, there was not a single instance of personal intercourse, direct or indirect, from the beginning to the end of the whole work on both sides. The whole matter was conducted in writing, and without the intervention of any common friend, instructed upon the subject, and passing between the parties.

Washington himself prepared a draught of a valedictory address, and showed it to Hamilton in Philadelphia, before the 10th of May, 1796. On that day Hamilton wrote to Washington from New York, in regard to this paper, and Washington sent it to him, with a letter dated the 15th May.

A draught of such an Address, in Washington's handwriting, either the same which he sent to Hamilton, or another, was found among Washington's papers, after his death. The paper that was so found, and which I shall

hereafter refer to as the *preserved paper*, is described by Mr. Sparks, in the Appendix to the twelfth volume of Washington's Writings, at page 391, as follows: "It is certain, however, that it was Washington's original idea to embody in the Address the substance and the form of Mr. Madison's draught, and to make such additions as events and the change of circumstances seemed to require. A paper of this description has been preserved, in which is first inserted Mr. Madison's draught, and then a series of memoranda or loose hints, evidently designed to be wrought into the Address. These are here printed as transcribed from the original manuscript:" and then follows a succession of paragraphs, with the heading HINTS OR HEADS OF TOPICS, filling about two pages and a half of the Appendix.

Mr. Sparks's imperfect knowledge of some of the papers I have referred to, which were not published until after the completion of his edition of Washington's Writings, and perhaps something in the very considerable dissimilitude, at least in form, between the preserved paper and the published Farewell Address, induced him, probably, to regard it as uncertain whether this paper was the same which Washington showed, and afterwards sent, to Hamilton, as his draught of the Address. In this state of doubt or disbelief, he omitted to print the entire paper *in extenso*. Some remarks in the initial part of it, introductory of Madison's draught, might have given some pain to the surviving family of Mr. Madison; and if the paper was in reality, what Mr. Sparks seems to have thought it was, a speculative paper, or a paper containing mere memoranda or hints of topics for an address, and not a definite presentment of Washington's thoughts and language, it may seem to have come

within the discretion of an editor, either to select it or not, for publication. But the publication of several papers on the subject of the Address, since that edition of Washington's Writings, particularly Hamilton's original draught, and Washington's letters to Hamilton, having made it not probable merely, but morally certain, that this preserved paper is the very draught which was sent by Washington to Hamilton, by a letter of the 15th May, 1796, Mr. Sparks, upon request, immediately supplied to Mr. John C. Hamilton copies of the beginning and conclusion of the paper, and has always, I learn, been ready so to communicate copies of such of these papers as were in his possession, on this subject; and by means of them the whole draught has been completed, and appears in the Appendix to this Inquiry. There can be no reasonable doubt that the preserved paper at large, is the original draught of Washington, which his letter to Hamilton refers to. It was also, in some degree, a completed paper, as far as Washington personally meant to go. It begins with a formal address to the people, by the description of "Friends and Fellow-Citizens;" and it concludes with Washington's signature in the usual form, but without date. Its identity is specially established by an alteration on the first page of it, which is noticed in Washington's letter to Hamilton, and is made by a line drawn through certain expressions, and through a name at the foot of the first page. As the whole matter is now, at least, historical, there can be no propriety in leaving any part of a writing incomplete, which is so manifestly a principal hinge of the main question. The alteration in the paper has become, also, a matter of complete insignificancy, in the personal relation, to Mr. Madison or to any one else, even if,

under any circumstances, the contrary aspect of it can be thought to justify a departure from the right line of history, in regard to the acts of great public men, who have left the records of them for inspection.

There are one or two particulars in which Mr. Sparks, by his omission to print the concluding paper, and by remarks upon a part of it which he does print, has unintentionally done some injustice to Washington. Nothing could have been further from his intention.

From the concluding part of the preserved paper, Hamilton has taken some rather touching thoughts of Washington, in regard to his long life of service, and to the affection which he bore to the land that had been his birthplace, and the birthplace of his ancestors for four generations. He also has taken from it his reference to the Proclamation of Neutrality, and other matters. A considerable portion of the conclusion, Hamilton, with Washington's approbation, has omitted; because, as a public paper, looking to distant posterity, as well as to the time present, it was thought best to turn away from the temporary causes of irritation, which Washington, with some animation, had referred to as a party injustice to him. One ought not to question what two such judgments as Washington's and Hamilton's finally approved. But the concluding part of Washington's draught appears to be of the greatest importance to his personal biography. It will enable the public to know him, even better than he is generally known, and neither to love nor to honor him less. It may show us, that like Achilles, he was vulnerable in one part, not, however, in a lower part of his nature, but in the sensitive tegument of the higher; and that the arrows of party had just so far raised the skin, that his arm was up,

and had given the wave of defiance to his enemies, preparatory to a blow, which his deep love of the whole country arrested. It was magnanimous as well as wise in Hamilton, who was a copartner and sufferer in the conflict, to exclude this portion of the paper from the Farewell Address; but it colors Washington to the life, and with the colors of a grand and noble nature, not the less impressive because it was human nature.

In another particular, Mr. Sparks's remarks deserve reconsideration. Being made, probably, under the apprehension that the preserved paper was a mere study by Washington for a larger work, Mr. Sparks has regarded the second or principal division which he has printed in his Appendix, as being "a series of memoranda or loose hints, evidently "designed to be wrought into the Address:" whereas they contain the great body of Washington's contribution to the Farewell Address, and are the basis of Hamilton's expansions, on the most important points. The thoughts, and sometimes the language, appear in their appropriate places in Hamilton's draught; and with Madison's draught, or rather Washington's letter to Madison, from which that draught was framed, they are the entire contribution of Washington, except as he may have added to the copy of Hamilton's original draught, after its final revision and return to him. I am compelled to differ from Mr. Sparks on this point as well as on one or two others; but nevertheless, I trust, with all becoming deference to his opinions.*

* There is a fine tone of criticism in a most able and interesting work, now near its completion, Rawlinson's Translation of Herodotus, with Appendices containing Essays on important epochs and topics in Ancient History. It is not for the appropriateness

That portion of the preserved paper to which the remarks of Mr. Sparks are applied, and which is indicated in his

of any of these dissertations to the subject of this Inquiry, but for the author's manly freedom of dissent from opposite opinions, without the least bitterness, and for his discriminating praise without flattery, that I extract a portion or two of his remarks upon passages in the two best English histories of Ancient Greece. I wish them to be regarded as exhibiting my own state of feeling in any dissent I may express from the opinions of Mr. Sparks, or of any other writer upon the subject of the Farewell Address.

When speaking of the extent to which Mr. Grote supposes that the institutions of Solon permitted all the free inhabitants of Attica except actual aliens, to vote for Archons and Senators, and to take part in the annual decision of their accountability, whether these inhabitants were or were not members of the four tribes, Mr. Rawlinson says, "To me it seems that the admission of these persons to citizenship at this time, is highly improbable, and that if it had been a part of the Solonian scheme, we must have found distinct mention of it."—"Mr. Grote, in his account of the Clisthenic legislation, seems to admit all that is here contended for; but his statements in that place appear to me to be wholly inconsistent with those contained in his account of the Solonian Constitution:" and then, in a note, the author cites the inconsistent passages.—3 *Rawlinson's Herodotus*, 406. But soon after, in speaking of his own notes on the modern portion of the history of Athens, the author says, "Those who require more, are referred to the thirtieth and thirty-first chapters of Mr. Grote's history, which contain the most accurate digest of the ancient authorities, and the most philosophical comments upon them, to be found in the whole range of modern literature."—*Ibid.* 412.

So also as to Bishop Thirlwall's history. "If the democratic character of the Solonian Constitution has been insufficiently apprehended by some of our writers, by others it has been undoubtedly exaggerated to a greater extent. To ascribe to Solon (as Bishop Thirlwall does) the full organization of the *Heliæra*, as it appears in the time of the orators, the institution of the Heliastic oath, of the Nomothets and Syndics, and of that bulwark of the later constitution, the *graphe paranomon*, is to misunderstand altogether his position in Athenian constitutional history, and to fail in distinguishing the spirit of his legislation from that of Clisthenes."—*Ibid.* 405. On the other hand, when the author is speaking of the internal changes in the Constitution of Sparta, which grew out of the first Messenian war and conquest, he says, "Perhaps there are scarcely sufficient data to reconstruct the true history of the period; but the view taken by Bishop Thirlwall of the changes made, and of the circumstances which led to them, is at once so ingenious and so consistent with probability, that it well deserves at least the attention of the student."—"Mr. Grote, without ex-

Appendix by a line at the head, in small capitals, as HINTS, OR HEADS OF TOPICS, does not appear to warrant such a description. Properly speaking, they are certainly not hints and heads of topics, but decidedly much more. They are certainly not hints or heads of topics for the further use of Washington himself; though it is not improbable that they were written for the guidance of the person who should follow and complete the work.

This heading is not inclosed by Mr. Sparks with marks of quotation, like the paper that follows, from beginning to end, and therefore I suppose it to be Mr. Sparks's heading. I have not seen the original, and it seems to be uncertain whether the original can be found. If the heading was Washington's, it must be admitted, that at the time of writing it, he regarded the eleven paragraphs that follow as hints or heads of topics; but the paragraphs themselves, instead of being loose hints, slight touches, allusions or suggestions, by way of reminder, constitute a perfectly formal and regular paper, in extension of Madison's draught, having a beginning and ending, and according to Washington's plan, sufficiently exhaustive of each of the ten subjects which succeed the first paragraph.

Of these "Hints, or Heads of Topics," the first and the

"aming it formally, by implication rejects it."—"Bishop Thirlwall's conjectural restoration of the fact, is on the whole satisfactory; and if not history, deserves to be regarded as the best substitute for history that is possible, considering the scantiness and contradictory character of the data."—*Ib.* 361-3.

This is the strain of the critic, free, candid, and explicit, without bitterness, and without veiling either praise or dissent in generalities; and there are multitudes of like examples in the work. A too common fault of some critics among us, has been vague and personal bitterness, or lavish but indiscriminating praise, from which it has almost come to be considered, that dissent is an imputation and a challenge.

last of them embrace the subject of party disputes, invectives, and malevolent misrepresentations, which Madison had touched lightly, and with such apparent misapprehension of Washington's views. One of the central paragraphs, recommending pride in the name of an American, and exposing the danger of the annihilation of our national dignity by foreign intrigue and influence, and exhibiting both the follies and evils of foreign engagements, interferences, and favors, is developed to the extent of twenty-nine lines of the broad and compact page of the Appendix; and others to the extent of ten, eight, and six lines each. These are not hints, or heads of topics. All the paragraphs constitute definite, complete, and well-expressed sentiments, beginning with a preamble, which sets forth, that if public affairs had continued to bear the aspect they assumed at the time the foregoing address was drawn (Mr. Madison's preparation), he could not have taken the liberty of troubling his fellow-citizens with any new sentiment, or with a repetition more in detail of those which are therein contained; but considerable changes having taken place at home and abroad, he should ask their indulgence, while he expressed "with more lively sensibility the following most ardent wishes of his heart:" and in the expression of these, he follows the formula he had used in his letter to Madison, and which Madison had pursued in his draught, when he expressed certain of Washington's wishes, as "vows which he would carry with him to his retirement and to his grave." They cannot be accurately described, as "Hints, or Heads of Topics;" though a hint may be taken from anything, and any single paragraph may be divided into heads of several topics. They are not, in an accurate sense, "a series

“of memoranda or loose hints;” though by some men, who take an artistic view of composition, and regard its structure and the combination and bearing of its parts as matter of essential consideration, they might be so described.

Although the entire paper is now presented in the Appendix to this Inquiry, it will make some of my future remarks more intelligible, if the substance of these nine paragraphs intervening between the first and the last of them, is noticed in this place, in the order in which Washington has arranged the subjects.

The leading paragraph—the second in the paper—expresses the ardent wish of Washington’s heart, that party disputes among all the friends and lovers of the country may subside; or, as Providence has ordained that men shall not always think alike, that charity and benevolence may so shed their benign influence, as to banish those invectives which proceed from illiberal prejudices and jealousy. And then the paper goes on to express like fervent wishes,—

—that as the Allwise Dispenser of human blessings has favored no nation with more abundant means of happiness than United America, we may not be so ungrateful to our Creator, or so regardless of ourselves and our posterity, as to dash the cup of beneficence thus offered to our acceptance :

—that we may fulfil all our engagements, foreign and domestic, to the utmost of our abilities; for, in public as well as in private life, honesty will ever be found to be the best policy :

—that we may avoid connecting ourselves with the politics of any nation, further than shall be found necessary to regulate our own trade, that commerce may be placed

upon a stable footing, our merchants know their rights, and our government the ground on which they are to be supported :

—that every citizen should take pride in the name of an American, and act as if he felt the importance of the character, by considering that we are now a distinct nation, the dignity of which will be annihilated, if we enlist ourselves, further than our obligations require, under the banners of any other nation. And moreover, that we should guard against the intrigues of every foreign nation who shall intermingle in our concerns, or prescribe our policy with other powers, if there be no infraction of our engagements with themselves, as one of the greatest evils that can befall us as a people ; for, whatever may be their professions, the event will prove, that nations, like individuals, act for their own benefit, and not for the benefit of others ; and that all their interferences are calculated to promote the former, and in proportion as they succeed, will make us less independent. Nothing is more certain, than that if we receive favors, we must grant favors, and, in such circumstances as ours, we cannot tell beforehand on which side the balance will be found ; but it is easy to prove that it may involve us in disputes, and finally in war, to fulfil political alliances ; whereas, if there be no engagements on our part, we shall be unembarrassed, and at liberty at all times to act from circumstances, and the dictates of justice, sound policy, and our essential interests :

—that we may be always prepared for war, but never unsheath the sword, except in self-defence, so long as justice and our essential rights and national respectability can be preserved without it. If this country can remain in peace

twenty years longer, such, in all probability, will be its population, riches, and resources, when combined with her distance from other quarters of the globe, as to bid defiance, in a just cause, to any earthly power whatever:

——that so long as we profess to be neutral, our public conduct, whatever our private affections may be, may accord with our professions, without suffering partialities or prejudices to control our actions. A contrary practice is incompatible with our declarations, pregnant with mischief, embarrassing to the administration, tending to divide us into parties, and ultimately productive of all those evils which proceed from faction:

——that our Union may be as lasting as time; for while we are encircled in one band, we shall possess the strength of a giant, and there will be none to make us afraid. Divide, and we shall become a prey to foreign intrigues and internal discord, and shall be as miserable and contemptible as we are now enviable and happy.

The ninth and final wish is, that the several departments may be preserved in their constitutional purity, without any attempt of one to encroach on the rights or privileges of another,—that the General and State Governments may move in their proper orbits, and the authorities of our own Constitution may be respected by ourselves, as the most certain means of having them respected by foreigners.

The concluding paragraph in the division corresponds with that which I have already noticed as the fourth head in a part of Washington's suggestions, in his letter to Mr. Madison, in regard to the treatment of public servants; and I shall quote its language hereafter.

These are golden truths, a treasure of political wisdom,

experience, and foresight, which, from the gravity of their tone, the depth of their sincerity, their simplicity, and the tenderness as well as the strength of the concern they manifest for the whole people, make them in themselves a "Farewell Address," as it were, from a dying father to his children. And they are Washington's alone, without suggestion by anybody,—Madison, Hamilton, or any other friend or adviser,—drawn from the depth of Washington's own heart; and if the whole Farewell Address, as it now stands on record, were decomposed, and such parts dispelled as were added to give the paper an entrance into the minds of statesmen and legislators, and to place it among the permanent rules of government, the great residuum would be found in these principles, an imperishable legacy to the people. They are the SOUL of the Farewell Address.

All these thoughts will be found introduced into Hamilton's original draught of the Farewell Address, and not unfrequently in the language in which Washington has expressed them; but, from the bearing that is there given them, they have not only a different aspect, but a united and concentrated influence upon one momentous and predominant interest. Their aspect is changed. In the Hints, or Heads of Topics, they have the enunciative form, which is so common in Washington's writings—simple truths, or propositions, or statements of wisdom or patriotism, with little support by argument, and without a manifest bearing upon each other, or upon any general truth which they are meant to establish; and they have no dependent order or succession. They are neither branches from a common trunk, nor rays converging to a common focus, but separate and independent truths or postulates. With the exception

of the preamble and the final clause, they might all change places with each other, in any way that could be chosen, and none of them would receive injury, nor would the effect of the whole be impaired by the change. But when they are carried into the Farewell Address, they are found to assume the ratiocinative or argumental form, so characteristic of Hamilton's writings. They are made to have a general bearing upon a general truth or aspiration; and their separate value, and their combined strength, are augmented by their order and position.

I must, therefore, assume that these paragraphs, in connection with Madison's draught, and the *beginning* and *conclusion* before mentioned, did, in the design of Washington, constitute definitely a draught by him of a valedictory address, so far as he should prepare or arrange it himself; and that this was the very paper that Hamilton saw before the 10th May, 1796, and was sent to him by Washington on the 15th May, 1796, as the basis of the work to which Washington called him. This, however, will become more evident by the letter itself, to be presently introduced.

It is proper to remark in this place, that if the preserved paper consisted of the whole of Mr. Madison's draught, and of all the paragraphs called "Hints, or Heads of Topics," it would have filled about five and a half of such printed pages as are those of Mr. Sparks's Appendix. Washington's beginning and conclusion, might have added another such page and a half, or thereabouts.

I shall now introduce, and in going on, partially apply or explain the proofs which more specially bear upon the composition of the Farewell Address.

The reference of the subject to Hamilton, of course pro-

ceeded from Washington, as is shown by Hamilton's first letter to Washington.

Mr. Sparks, in his Appendix, has printed the first part of this letter as an extract; and it is the only part of the letter that has any the least reference to the subject of the *preserved* paper. The commencement of the letter, and its concluding address, are as follows:—

“NEW YORK, May 10th, 1796.

“SIR,—

“When last in Philadelphia, you mentioned to me your wish, that I should *redress* a certain paper, which you had prepared. As it is important that a thing of this kind should be done with great care, and much at leisure touched and retouched, I submit a wish, that as soon as you have given it *the body* you mean it to have, it may be sent to me.”

* * * * *

“Very respectfully and affectionately,

“I have the honor to be,

“Sir,

“Your ob't serv't,

“A. HAMILTON.”

“The President of the United States.”

Washington replied on the 15th May, from Philadelphia; and as this letter is the key to Washington's intentions and to Hamilton's acts, the entire letter will be given, although it may be found at large in 6 Hamilton's Works, p. 120. The convenience of making an occasional remark upon a paragraph of it, before the whole is exhibited, will lead to its being presented in sections.

“PHILADELPHIA, May 15th, 1796.

“MY DEAR SIR,—

“On this day week I wrote you a letter on the subject of the

“information received from G—— M——, and put it with some
 “other papers respecting the case of M. de La Fayette, under
 “cover to Mr. Jay, to whom also I had occasion to write. But in
 “my hurry (making up the despatches for the post-office next
 “morning), I forgot to give it a superscription: of course it had
 “to return from New York for one, and to encounter all the delay
 “occasioned thereby before it could reach your hands.”

“Since then I have been favored with your letter of the 10th
 “inst., and inclose (in its rough state) the paper mentioned therein,
 “with some alteration in the first page (since you saw it) relative
 “to the reference at foot. Having no copy by me, except of the
 “quoted part, nor of the notes from which it was drawn, I beg
 “leave to recommend the draught now sent to your particular
 “attention.”

There are some inferences from this part of the letter, which, although self-evident, it is thought material to state with precision in this place.

1. The *identical* paper or draught which Washington had prepared, which Hamilton *had seen*, and which he mentioned in his letter of the 10th of May, was inclosed in Washington's letter of the 15th. Some alterations in its first page, relative to a reference at the foot of the page, had been made after Hamilton had seen the paper, and before it was inclosed to him. *These alterations appear on the face of the preserved paper*, mentioned by Mr. Sparks, a line being drawn through several words, as well as through the name of ** ***** at the foot of the page.

2. Washington, when he so inclosed the draught, had no copy by him of any part of the draught, except what he calls “the quoted part,” nor of the notes from which *it*, meaning most probably the original part not quoted, had

been drawn, and therefore he recommends the draught to Hamilton's particular attention.

Was the *preserved paper* a different draught, prepared *before* Washington's letter of 15th May, and not mentioned when he sent to Hamilton the draught inclosed in that letter? This is to the last degree improbable; for Washington said he had no copy by him except of the quoted part, which was Madison's draught, nor the notes from which the draught he sent was drawn. Such a previously prepared paper, if it existed, must therefore have been without a trace of connection with the draught that was sent. Did Washington, *after* sending his draught to Hamilton, subsequently make another draught himself, or prepare Hints or Heads of Topics, corresponding with the preserved paper in Mr. Sparks's Appendix? The whole subsequent correspondence will show the futility of such a suggestion. The draught sent to Hamilton was therefore the *preserved paper*. The letter proceeds:—

“ Even if you should think it best to throw the *whole* into a different form, let me request, notwithstanding, that my draught may be returned to me (along with yours) with such amendments and corrections as to render it as perfect as the formation is susceptible of; curtailed if too verbose; and relieved of all tautology not necessary to enforce the ideas in the original or quoted part. My wish is that the whole may appear in a plain style, and be handed to the public in an honest, unaffected, simple garb.”

It is from Washington, consequently, that first came, if not the suggestion that the whole should be thrown into a different form, the clearly implied authority to Hamilton to throw it into that form, if he should think it best. The letter still proceeds:—

“ It will be perceived, from hence, that I am attached to the “ quotation. My reasons for it are, that as it is not only a fact “ that such an address was written, and on the point of being published, *but known also to one or two* of those characters, who are “ now strongest and foremost in the opposition to the government, “ and consequently to the person administering of it contrary to “ their views, the promulgation thereof, as an evidence that it “ was much against my inclination that I continued in office, will “ cause it more readily to be believed, that I could have no view in “ extending the powers of the Executive beyond the limits prescribed by the Constitution ; and will serve to lessen, in the public “ estimation, the pretensions of that party to the patriotic zeal and “ watchfulness, on which they endeavor to build their own consequence, at the expense of others who have differed from them in “ sentiment. And besides, it may contribute to blunt, if it does “ not turn aside, some of the shafts which, it may be presumed, will “ be aimed at my annunciation of this event ; among which, conviction of fallen popularity, and despair of being re-elected, will “ be levelled at me with dexterity and keenness.”

In this paragraph, the reasons of Washington's attachment to the “ quotation ” lead immediately to the inference, which we now know to be true, that the “ quoted part ” of his draught consisted of Madison's draught, and thus identifies the draught sent to Hamilton, as being composed in part of Madison's draught, and in part of original matter written by Washington, which is the character of the “ preserved paper,” according to Mr. Sparks's account of it. Madison was certainly one of the “ *one or two* ” who knew that the Address was written, and on the point of being published, in 1792, and who were foremost in the opposition to Washington's administration in 1796 ; and Washington held with some tenacity to what Madison had written, even

in regard to Washington's very fallible judgment and inferiority of qualifications, because the reference to it in the present Address would bring the matter home consciously to Madison, and with this could hardly fail to recur to him, at the same time, the consciousness of Washington's sincerity, candor, modesty, and real greatness and elevation, that would not put away from him these depreciating reminders of his first adviser, after their relations had changed.

“ Having struck out the reference to a *particular character* in “ the first page of the Address, I have less (if any) objection to “ expunging those words which are contained within parentheses, in “ pages 5, 7, and 8, in the quoted part, and those in the eighteenth “ page of what follows; nor to discarding the egotisms (however “ just they may be), if you think them liable to fair criticism, and “ that they had better be omitted, notwithstanding some of them “ relate facts which are but little known to the community.”

“ My object has been, and must continue to be, to avoid personalities: allusions to particular measures, which may appear “ pointed, and to expressions which could not fail to draw upon “ me attacks which I should wish to avoid, and might not find “ agreeable to repel.”

Whether this reference to the eighteenth page of Washington's manuscript draught includes the last portion of the “ Hints, or Heads of Topics,” or a part of the *Conclusion*, which has been called the *fourth* paper, it is impossible to determine, without seeing the copy-book, or the entire manuscript and its paging, which I have not seen. But this is not very material. The last paragraph of the “ Hints, “ or Heads of Topics,” printed by Mr. Sparks, is one of a personal character, which becomes more pointed in the

Conclusion, not printed by Mr. Sparks; though it is not connected there, as it is in the "Hints or Heads of 'Topics,'" with the motive which led him to retain Madison's draught as a part of his own paper. "In expressing these sentiments," he says ("Hints, or Heads of 'Topics,'" Washington's Writings, vol. xii, p. 394), "it will readily be perceived that I can have no other view now, whatever malevolence may have ascribed to it before, than such as results from a perfect conviction of the utility of the measure. If public servants, in the exercise of their official duties, are found incompetent, or pursuing wrong courses, discontinue them; if they are guilty of malpractices, let them be more exemplarily punished: in both cases, the Constitution and laws have made provision. But do not withdraw your confidence from them, the best incentive to a faithful discharge of their duty, without just cause; nor infer, because measures of a complicated nature, which time, opportunity, and close investigation alone can penetrate,—for these reasons are not easily comprehended by those who do not possess the means,—that it necessarily follows they must be wrong. This would not only be doing injustice to your trustees, but be counteracting your own essential interests, rendering those trustees, if not contemptible in the eyes of the world, little better, at least, than ciphers in the administration of the government; and the Constitution of your own choosing would reproach you for such conduct."

• Such a paragraph as this, as well as others in the concluding paper, might very naturally be embraced by the license which this part of the letter gives to Hamilton. But this is not certain. The pages of the copy I possess do

not, I apprehend, conform to the original ; and there are no parentheses in the copy, except in two instances, quite unimportant. Washington's marks may have been made by pencil, and become effaced. The references at pages 5, 7, and 8, cannot be ascertained by the copy. The letter goes on:—

“ As there will be another session of Congress before the political
“ existence of the present House of Representatives, or my own,
“ will expire, it was not my design to say a word to the Legislature
“ on this subject ; but to withhold the promulgation of my intention,
“ until the period when it shall become indispensably necessary for
“ the information of the Electors (which this year will be delayed
“ until the 7th of December). This makes it a little difficult and
“ uncertain what to say, so long beforehand, on the part marked
“ with a pencil, in the last paragraph of the second page.”

The reference in this last sentence, is undoubtedly to the paragraph of Washington's *beginning*, as I have called it, which immediately precedes Mr. Madison's draught, distinguished by marks of quotation in the paper appended to this Inquiry, as Washington's original draught.

“ All these ideas and observations are confined, as you will
“ readily perceive, to *my draught* of the Valedictory Address. If
“ you form one anew, it will, of course, assume such a shape as you
“ may be disposed to give it, predicated upon the sentiments contained in the inclosed paper.”

“ With respect to the gentleman you have mentioned as successor
“ to Mr. P——, there can be no doubt of his abilities, nor, *in my*
“ *mind*, is there any of his fitness ; but you know, as well as I,
“ what has been said of his political sentiments, with respect to
“ another form of government ; and from thence can be at no loss

“ to guess at the interpretation which would be given to the nomination of him. However, the subject shall have due consideration ; but a previous resignation would, in my opinion, carry with it too much the appearance of concert, and would have a bad, rather than a good effect.

“ Always and sincerely,

“ I am yours,

“ Col. A. HAMILTON.”

“ GEO. WASHINGTON.

The concluding remark in the last paragraph but one of this letter, is in the full character of Washington, and cannot be too well remembered by the reader. It is the key to that part of the Farewell Address that he reserved for himself. It says, in the plainest language, to Hamilton,—my sentiments are contained in the paper I send you. Certain of them, which have a bearing upon particular persons or party, and what may be called *egotisms*,—matters touching myself particularly,—I have no objection to expunge, if you think them liable to fair criticism. Correct, amend, make it as perfect as the formation is susceptible of, to enforce the ideas or sentiments that are expressed in the draught. Or, throw the whole into a different form, if you please ; let it assume such a shape as you may be disposed to give it ; but the sentiments contained in the inclosed paper are to be the guide. These show my design, my object, my opinions, my counsels to the country, my admonitions to the whole people ; these are mine, and are to be observed in whatever plan you may adopt.

And thus Washington's relation to the subject was declared and established at the outset by himself, and will be found to have been most faithfully, as well as most ingeniously, observed and followed by Hamilton to the end.

Washington was the designer, in the general sense, if not in the artistic. The fundamental and radical thoughts were his, and were to remain his, even in a new draught. The Address was to disclose his principles and admonitions, of which he gave a full outline, in sentiments sufficiently delineated by him to characterize and identify them. As to order, symmetry, amplification, illustration, support by reasoning, or by reference to general or known facts or truths, or even additions of the same temperament as those he had expressed, he committed all this to Hamilton, if Hamilton should think it best, under the names of "form" and "shape," by which Washington distinguished the external appearance or composition, from the general and fundamental truths. I may here, as well as anywhere else, ask the reader to observe, how expressly Hamilton will call upon Washington to see that none of the thoughts he had desired to be embodied in the work, had been omitted by oversight; and how cautiously, even laboriously, Washington's eye will be found passing and repassing over the whole, to the very end.

In the month of June following, Hamilton wrote to Washington upon a subject of public concern, making no reference to the valedictory; and Washington replied from Mount Vernon, on the 26th of June. Hamilton's letter is printed in the sixth volume of "Hamilton's Works," page 133; Washington's reply to Hamilton, in the same volume, page 135. A considerable part of the reply relates to the public subject only; but midway, it adverts to the embarrassment of the administration, "from the conduct of "characters among ourselves; and as every act of the "Executive is misrepresented and tortured, with a view to

“make it odious,” it suggests that the aid of the friends of government is peculiarly necessary at such a crisis.

“It is unnecessary, therefore, to add,” the letter says, “that I should be glad upon the present, and all other important occasions, to receive yours; and as I have great confidence in the abilities and purity of Mr. Jay’s views, as well as in his experience, I should wish that his sentiments on the purport of this letter, and other interesting matters as they occur, may accompany yours; for, having no other wish than to promote the true and permanent interests of this country, I am anxious always to compare the opinions of those in whom I confide, with one another, and these again (without being bound by them) with my own, that I may extract all the good I can.”

The letter turns, in its concluding paragraphs, to the subject of the Valedictory Address, and expresses Washington’s regret that he did not publish it the day after the adjournment of Congress; and gives several reasons for this regret; among others,

“that it might have prevented the remarks which, more than probable, will follow a late annunciation—namely, that I delayed it long enough to see that the current was turned against me, before I declared my intention to decline. This is one of the reasons which makes me a little tenacious of the draught I furnished you with, to be modified and corrected. Having passed, however, what I now conceive would have been the precise moment to have addressed my constituents,”

he asks Hamilton’s opinion as to the next best time, and requests to hear from him as soon as was convenient.

Hamilton answered this letter on the 5th July, the

greater part of the answer being confined to the public matter, and to Washington's suggestions arising out of it.

What regards the present subject is contained in these paragraphs :—

“As to your resignation, sir,” it proceeds to say, “it is not to be regretted that the declaration of your intention should be suspended as long as possible; and, suffer me to add, that you should *really hold the thing undecided to the last moment*. I do not think it is in the power of party to throw any slur upon the lateness of your declaration; and you have an obvious justification in the state of things. If a storm gathers, how can you retreat? This is a most serious question.”

“The proper period now for your declaration, seems to be *two* months before the time for the meeting of the Electors. This will be sufficient. The parties will, in the meantime, electioneer conditionally, that is to say, *if you decline*; for a serious opposition to you will, I think, hardly be *risked*.”

“I have completed the first draught of a certain paper, and shall shortly transcribe, correct, and forward it. I will then also prepare and send forward, without delay, the original paper corrected upon the general plan of it, so that you may have both before you for a choice, in full time, and for alteration if necessary.”

By “*first draught of a certain paper*,” Hamilton undoubtedly meant his own *original draught* of a Farewell Address. By “*the original paper corrected upon the general plan of it*,” he as clearly meant Washington's original or preparatory draught, which had been sent to him on the 15th of May. The phrase “*corrected upon the general plan of it*,” could not reasonably have meant corrected upon the face or paper itself of Washington's draught, but corrected in correspond-

ence or conformity with its general plan, that is to say, without altering the plan.

Before Hamilton entered upon what he called the first draught of a certain paper, he appears to have made an "abstract of points to form an address," a copy of which is printed in the seventh volume of Hamilton's Works, page 570, and will be found in the Appendix. It places the points in the order in which they are afterwards developed in Hamilton's original draught, and must be particularly noticed hereafter.

It is here called the *original* draught of Hamilton, for the purpose of constantly distinguishing it in my future remarks. Hamilton sent a corrected and amended copy of this draught to Washington, as he promised to do. His letter says, "he shall shortly transcribe, *correct*, and forward it." The *original* draught bears an indorsement in Hamilton's handwriting, in these words: "Copy of the original draught, considerably amended;" which cannot mean that the paper itself, on which the indorsement was made, was considerably amended from some other original,—for the paper itself is singularly rough, and bears many interlineations, marginal and otherwise, which in some respects deface it, and leaves also a considerable blank in it, to be, perhaps, afterwards filled up,—but it must import that the copy of *that*, the original draught, was considerably amended; and this amended or corrected copy, was the copy, no doubt, which Hamilton sent to Washington, the rough original which bears the indorsement remaining with Hamilton, and being now with Hamilton's papers in the Department of State. It was this corrected copy that was afterwards returned by Washington to Hamilton, at his request, for *revision*, and was again corrected or revised, and in one or two particulars enlarged by

him, and again returned to Washington. This corrected copy, to distinguish it from the *original* draught, will hereafter be called Hamilton's *revision*. This large explanation may be thought superfluous; but, if attended to, it will be found to prevent confusion, in the many references which will occur to the different papers, and will also save the necessity of periphrase.

To what extent, and in what manner the copy of the original draught which was sent to Washington, was amended or corrected, either at first, or upon a revision, cannot be known with absolute certainty; for we shall learn hereafter that this paper is the only missing link. It may be heard of again in the course of these remarks, and may, some time or other, appear; but it will not be discovered in time for the purposes of this Inquiry. We know from infallible proofs, that the amendments or corrections did not go to the extent of changing the general order, subjects, or sentiments of the paragraphs in Hamilton's original draught. He may have struck out three of them, and a part of one or two of them, and may have added two, or at most three, new ones. He may have divided a few of the original paragraphs, and consolidated two paragraphs in one, in perhaps two or three instances. The principal amendments must have been in words,—a different selection from words or turns of expression nearly synonymous, and not changing the general thought of the sentence. The comparison of Hamilton's rough original draught with Washington's printed Farewell Address, will establish the former, as continuing substantially to the end, an identity, under all the amendments or corrections that were made by Hamilton, or Washington.

On the 30th July, Hamilton wrote the letter to Washington which follows:—

“NEW YORK, 30th July, 1796.

“SIR,—

“I have the pleasure to send you herewith a certain draught, which I have endeavored to make as perfect as my time and engagements would permit.) It has been my object to render this act importantly and lastingly useful, and, avoiding all just cause of present exception, to embrace such reflections and sentiments as will wear well, progress in approbation with time, and redound to future reputation. How far I have succeeded, you will judge.

“I have begun the second part of the task, the digesting the supplementary remarks to the first address, which, in a fortnight, I hope also to send you; yet, I confess, the more I have considered the matter, the less eligible this plan has appeared to me. There seems to me to be a certain awkwardness in the thing, and it seems to imply that there is a doubt whether the assurance, without the evidence, would be believed. Besides that, I think that there are some ideas that will not wear well in the former address; and I do not see how any part can be omitted, if it is to be given as the thing formerly prepared. Nevertheless, when you have both before you, you can judge.

“If you should incline to take the draught now sent, after perusing, and noting anything that you wish changed, and will send it to me, I will, with pleasure, shape it as you desire. This may also put it in my power to improve the expression, and perhaps, in some instances, condense.

“I rejoice that certain clouds have not lately thickened, and that there is a prospect of a brighter horizon.

“With affectionate and respectful

“attachment, I have the honor to be,

“Sir,

“Your very obedient servant,

“The President of the United States.”

“A. HAMILTON.

On the 10th of August, 1796, Hamilton again wrote to Washington, as follows:—

“ SIR,—

“ About a fortnight since, I sent you a certain draught. I now
 “ send you another, on the plan of incorporation. Whichever you
 “ may prefer, if there be any part you wish to transfer from one to
 “ another, any part to be changed, or if there be any material idea
 “ in your own draught which has happened to be omitted, and which
 “ you wish introduced,—in short, if there be anything further in
 “ the matter in which I can be of any [service], I will, with great
 “ pleasure, obey your commands.

“ Very respectfully and affectionately,

“ I have the honor to be,

“ Sir,

“ Your obedient servant,

“ A. HAMILTON.

“ To the President.”

“ August 10th, 1796.

Washington's draught in its original form, together with the other on the plan of incorporation, must have been returned at the same time with this letter, though it is not so expressed. The care and return of it were enjoined by Washington, and he had it, with the other, in his hands, when he wrote his letter of 25th August, hereafter given.

On the same 10th August, Washington acknowledged Hamilton's letter of 30th July, and the draught it inclosed.

“ MOUNT VERNON, 10th August, 1796.

“ MY DEAR SIR,—

“ The principal design of this letter is to inform you that your
 “ favor of the 30th ult., with its inclosure, got safe to my hands by
 “ the last post, and that the latter shall have the most attentive
 “ consideration I am able to give it.

“ A cursory reading it has had; and the sentiments therein con-
 “ tained are extremely just, and such as ought to be inculcated.

“ The doubt that occurs at first view, is the length of it for a newspaper publication ; and how far the occasion would countenance its appearing in any other form, without dilating more on the present state of matters, is questionable. All the columns of a large gazette could scarcely, I conceive, contain the present draught. But, having made no accurate calculation of this matter, I may be much mistaken.

“ If any matters should occur to you as fit subjects of communication at the opening of the next session of Congress, I would thank you for noting and furnishing me with them. It is my wish and my custom to provide all the materials for the speech in time, that it may be formed at leisure.

“ With sincere esteem and affectionate regard,

“ I am always yours,

“ GEO. WASHINGTON.

“ Col. A. HAMILTON.”

One fact that must strike the reader upon perusing this letter, is the great emphasis which Washington lays upon the extent or magnitude of Hamilton's draught. Washington had, no doubt, intended his draught for a newspaper, as being the best instrument of diffusive publication. Upon a cursory reading of this draught, he perceived, as he thought, that all the columns of a large gazette would scarcely contain it ; and that it was questionable whether the occasion would countenance its appearing in another form, without dilating more on the present state of matters. Indeed, it is the only fact with regard to Hamilton's draught which the letter records, except that his letter and draught had been received, and that the draught had had a cursory reading : and this fact will be found to have a marked bearing on the main question to be answered, namely, the con-

tributory shares of Washington and Hamilton in the Farewell Address.

The two parts of Washington's draught, which Mr. Sparks has printed in the Appendix to the twelfth volume of Washington's Writings,—Madison's draught, and Washington's part, called in that Appendix "Hints or Heads of Topics,"—would have filled, as has been remarked, about five pages of printed matter, of the same size as the pages in his Appendix; and if to these be added the beginning and conclusion of Washington, they will make about a page and a half more; and these together would not have made up one-half of what the columns of a large newspaper would have contained. By recurring to the copy of Hamilton's original draught, which is presented in the seventh volume of his Works, beginning at the top of page 575, it will be found to end seven lines below the beginning of page 594, and thus to contain nineteen pages. The page of Mr. Sparks's Appendix contains about a fifth more matter than Hamilton's page, from which we may deduce that Hamilton's draught was more than twofold larger than the entire preparation of Washington, including all its four parts. Washington's emphatic remarks show that Hamilton's draught must have greatly exceeded his own in length, without excluding from the latter several long paragraphs which, in accordance with Washington's permission, Hamilton had thought it expedient to omit. A more substantial comparison will be made hereafter.

Before the 25th of August, 1796, Washington must have received Hamilton's letter of the 10th, which inclosed to Washington, probably his own draught, and certainly, the incorporation with that draught of Hamilton's corrections

or emendations; for on that 25th of August, Washington had in his hands those two papers,—his own draught, and the same draught corrected or amended by Hamilton,—with which he had compared a third paper, namely, the amended copy of Hamilton's original draught.

On that day, Washington addressed the following letter to Hamilton, returning to him at the same time the copy of Hamilton's original draught:—

(PRIVATE.)

“PHILADELPHIA, 25th August, 1796.

“MY DEAR SIR,—

“I have given the paper herewith inclosed several serious and attentive readings, and prefer it greatly to the other draughts,) being more copious on material points, more dignified on the whole, and, with less egotism, of course less exposed to criticism, and better calculated to meet the eye of the discerning reader (foreigners particularly, whose curiosity, I have little doubt, will lead them to inspect it attentively, and to pronounce their opinion on the performance).”

“When the first draught was made, besides having an eye to the consideration above mentioned, I thought the occasion was fair (as I had latterly been the subject of considerable invective) to say what is there contained of myself; and as the address was designed in a more especial manner for the yeomanry of the country, I conceived it was proper they should be informed of the object of that abuse, the silence with which it had been treated, and the consequences which would naturally flow from such unceasing and virulent attempts to destroy all confidence in the executive part of the government; and that it would be best to do it in language that was plain and intelligible to their understandings.”

“The draught now sent comprehends the most, if not all, these matters, is better expressed, and, I am persuaded, goes as far as it ought, with respect to any personal mention of myself.”

“ I should have seen no occasion myself for its undergoing a revision ; but as your letter of the 30th ult., which accompanied it, intimates a wish to do this, and knowing that it can be more correctly done after a writing has been out of sight for some time, than while it is in hand, I send it in conformity thereto, with a request, however, that you would return as soon as you have carefully re-examined it; for it is my intention to hand it to the public before I leave this city, to which I came for the purpose of meeting General Pinckney, receiving the Ministers from Spain and Holland, and for the despatch of other business, which could not be so well executed by written communications between the heads of Departments and myself, as by oral conferences. So soon as these are accomplished, I shall return ; at any rate, I expect to do so by, or before, the tenth of next month, for the purpose of bringing up my family for the winter.”

“ I shall expunge all that is marked in the paper as unimportant, &c. &c. ; and as you perceive some marginal notes, written with a pencil, I pray you to give the sentiments so noticed mature consideration.) After which, and in every other part, if change or alteration takes place in the draught, let them be so clearly interlined, erased, or referred to in the margin, as that no mistake may happen in copying for the press.”

“ To what editor in *this* city do you think it had best be sent for publication ? Will it be proper to accompany it with a note to him, expressing (as the principal design of it is to remove doubts at the next election) that it is hoped, or expected, that the State printers will give it a place in their gazettes ; or preferable to let it be carried by my private secretary to that press which is destined to usher it to the world, and suffer it to work its way afterwards ? If you think the first most eligible, let me ask you to sketch such a note as you may judge applicable to the occasion.”

“ With affectionate regard,

“ I am always yours,

“ Col. A. HAMILTON.”

“ GEO. WASHINGTON.

It is particularly worthy of observation, that Washington, after "several serious and attentive readings," and a fortnight's consideration, remarked in this letter, that the copy of Hamilton's original draught comprehended "*most if not all those matters*" that personally concerned the *feelings* of Washington. He chose to say it was better expressed, and went as far as was proper. It leads me to remark, that a careful comparison of all that was written on both sides, will discover to every person of candor, that *all* Washington's *sentiments* were brought with infinite care into that draught, nothing omitted, nothing modified, except in such a manner, in both respects, as to obtain Washington's approbation, and nothing added through a personal design of the writer, or in reference to himself, but only to give the greater effect to Washington's own sentiments.

On the 1st of September, Washington again wrote to Hamilton (Hamilton's Works, vol. vi, p. 147), saying:—

"About the middle of last week I wrote to you; and that it might escape the eye of the inquisitive (for some of my letters have lately been pried into), I took the liberty of putting it under a cover to Mr. Jay."

"Since then, revolving on the paper that was inclosed therein, on the various matters it contained, and on the just expression of the advice or recommendation which was given in it, I have regretted that another subject (which, in my estimation, is of interesting concern to the well-being of this country) was not touched upon also: I mean education generally, as one of the surest means of enlightening and giving just ways of thinking to our citizens; but particularly the establishment of a university."

And then the letter proceeds at some length to state the

advantages of such an institution at the seat of the General Government, and a purpose, on Washington's part, to contribute to its endowment.

“ Let me pray you, therefore, to introduce a section in the Address expressive of these sentiments, and recommendatory of the measure, without any mention, however, of my proposed personal contribution to the plan. Such a section would come in very properly after the one which relates to our religious obligations, or in a preceding part, as one of the recommendatory measures to counteract the evils arising from geographical discriminations.”

Hamilton replied on the 4th of September:—

“ NEW YORK, Sept. 4th, 1796.

“ SIR,—

“ I have received your two late letters, the last but one transmitting me a certain draught. It will be corrected and altered with attention to your suggestions, and returned by Monday's or Tuesday's post. The idea of the University is one of those which I think will be most properly reserved for your speech at the opening of the Session. A general suggestion respecting education, will very fitly come into the Address.

“ With respect, and affectionate attachment,

“ I have the honor to remain,

“ Sir,

“ Your very obed't ser't,

“ A. HAMILTON.

“ The President.”

Washington replied on the 6th of September (Hamilton's Works, vol. vi, p. 149):—

“ I received yesterday your letter of the 4th instant. If the promised paper has not been sent before this reaches you, Mr.

“ Kip, the bearer of it, who goes to New York, partly on mine and
 “ partly on his own business, will bring it safely. I only await now,
 “ and shall in a few days do it impatiently, for the arrival of General
 “ Pinckney.

“ If you think the idea of a University had better be reserved
 “ for the speech at the opening of the Session, I am content to defer
 “ the communication of it until that period; but even in *that* case,
 “ I would pray you, as soon as convenient, to make a draught for
 “ the occasion, predicated on the ideas with which you have been
 “ furnished; looking at the same time, into what was said on this
 “ head in my *second* speech to the *first* Congress, merely with a view
 “ to see what was said upon the subject at that time.”

Hamilton, on the preceding day, had written thus to
 Washington:—

“ NEW YORK, Sept. 5th, 1796.

“ SIR,—

“ I return the draught corrected agreeably to your intimations.
 “ You will observe a short paragraph added respecting *Education*.
 “ As to the establishment of a University, it is a point which, in
 “ connection with Military Schools, and some other things, I meant,
 “ agreeably to your desire, to suggest to you, as parts of your
 “ speech at the opening of the Session. There will several things
 “ come there much better than in a general Address to the People,
 “ which likewise would swell the Address too much. Had I had *health*
 “ enough, it was my intention to have written it over; in which case
 “ I could both have improved and abridged. But this is not the
 “ case. I seem now to have regularly a period of ill-health every
 “ summer.

“ I think it will be advisable simply to send the Address by your
 “ secretary to Dunlap. It will, of course, find its way into all
 “ the other papers. Some person on the spot ought to be

“ charged with a careful examination of the impression by the
“ proof-sheet.”

“ Very respectfully and affectionately,

“ I have the honor to be,

“ Sir,

“ Your very obed’t serv’t,

“ A. HAMILTON.

“ The President.”

On the 8th September, Hamilton replied to Washington’s
letter of the 6th:—

“ NEW YORK, Sept. 8th, 1796.

“ SIR,—

“ I have received your letter of the 6th by the bearer. The
“ draught was sent forward by post on Tuesday.

“ I shall prepare a paragraph with respect to the University, and
“ some others for consideration, respecting other points which have
“ occurred.”

“ With true respect and attachment,

“ I have the honor to be,

“ Sir,

“ Your very obedient servant,

“ A. HAMILTON.

“ The President.”

And thus ends the correspondence between Washington
and Hamilton on the subject of the Farewell Address.
That Address was dated and signed by Washington on the
17th of September, nine days after the date of Hamilton’s
last letter, and was published on the 19th September, in
Claypoole’s Daily Advertiser. An acknowledgment of the
safe arrival of Hamilton’s *revision*, the revised copy of his
amended draught, thus sent forward by post on Tuesday,

may have been written by Washington; but there is no copy of such an acknowledgment by letter in Hamilton's Works, nor a copy of any other letter from Washington to Hamilton, until the 2d of November, more than six weeks after the publication of the Farewell Address in the gazette.

It is made manifest by this correspondence, that if Washington's original draught is well identified with the preserved paper, and if Hamilton's original draught, also, is identified with the paper printed in his works, then we may obtain all that Washington contributed specifically to the Farewell Address, and all that Hamilton contributed, such additions only excepted as are found in the Farewell Address, and cannot be traced to either of the preceding draughts; and these may have been made by new matter, or by alterations, in Hamilton's amended copy revised, or by Washington in his autograph copy. So far as the author of these additions or alterations shall remain uncertain by the loss or disappearance of Hamilton's amended copy afterwards revised, so far the respective contributors of those additions or alterations will not be distinguished to absolute demonstration; but it will be of little prejudice to the result of this Inquiry; for the original basis of each contributor being fixed by the two draughts,—Washington's draught and Hamilton's original draught,—the differences in the Farewell Address may either be traced with reasonable certainty to one of the parties, or be disregarded, as having no influence upon the main question.

It is proper in this place, for the better apprehension and estimation of the proofs, to ask attention to one or two matters not already adverted to.

A corrected and amended copy of Hamilton's original

draught passed *once* from Hamilton to Washington, on the 30th July, 1796, and *once* came back from Washington to Hamilton, on the 25th of August following. I say a *corrected and amended* copy, because Hamilton's letter of 5th July promised that he would "shortly transcribe, *correct*, and forward it;" and he indorsed on the rough original, "Copy of the original draught, considerably *amended*."

Washington's draught, and the transcript of that draught corrected by Hamilton, which, as will hereafter be seen, was read by Hamilton to Jay, having been sent by Hamilton to Washington on the 10th of August, and put aside, with his own preparatory draught, by Washington's letter of 25th of August, from his great preference for Hamilton's draught, they were not the subject of remark by either party afterwards. They may, therefore, be dismissed from further consideration in this place.

Hamilton's copy of the original draught being returned to him on the 25th of August for revision, with certain remarks, he proceeded to revise and correct it, and returned it to Washington on Tuesday, the 6th September. This revision did not come to Hamilton's hands again, and was not the subject of further remark between the parties. Hamilton sent it to Washington in the rough state in which the revision had left it, because, as his letter remarks, he had not health at the time to transcribe it. The almost necessary presumption, therefore, is, that the amended copy of the original draught was the very paper that was revised and sent back. If the copy had been revised and corrected on fair paper, there was nothing in the corrections, as we can very safely infer from the Farewell Address, when compared with the original draught, of which the copy is said by

Hamilton to have been considerably amended, that such a writer as Hamilton would not have made on such paper, without defacing it to a degree that would have called for an apology. The corrections, we may presume, were entirely *verbal*,—adding a clause on education, and writing that, perhaps, in the margin, with a mark of reference to its place in the body of the Address, which may account for what will be found to have happened to it in Washington's autograph copy. This, however, is to some extent conjectural; for Hamilton's *revision* of the amended copy of his original draught is not accessible to me, nor has it been at any time, as I understand, to Hamilton's family. I have received very credible intimations, that it has been seen at the city of Washington, many years since Washington's death. But, for the purposes of this Inquiry, or for the purpose of gaining any weight whatever to aid the proof of the previous existence and transmission of the original draught to Washington, or of its internal character as an exemplar of the Address, I place no reliance on these intimations. They are noticed only to keep alive the hope, that the paper, if existing, may be placed where it may be used either for the confirmation, or for the refutation of this Essay. It is impossible for any person to stand in a state of more pure neutrality than I do, as to the direction in which the evidence shall incline the scale of literary or artistic merit in the Farewell Address, to one or the other party. It does not, in truth, concern either Washington or Hamilton. In their lives they were far above such a consideration; and since death has sealed, indestructibly, the reputation of each, different as the respective elements of it were, the whole question, in this aspect, is of no moment whatever. It is the higher

consideration of perfect honor, fidelity, and truth on each side, in the whole transaction, that has given interest to a statement of the entire evidence, preparatory to some final remarks on the bearing of the parties, after the Farewell Address was published to the world, in regard to the proofs of co-operation.

After thus showing incontestably, by the correspondence, that the amended copy of Hamilton's original draught passed *once* to Washington, and came back to Hamilton, and that this paper, revised by Hamilton, passed *once* to Washington, and never came back, and that Washington had not in the meanwhile touched line or word, and did not touch line or word in the body of the work, before it finally came back to his hands, nine or ten days before he signed his Farewell Address,—he said only “I *shall* expunge” certain parts, and made pencil notes in the margin for consideration of other parts,—we are not only better prepared to estimate any alterations Washington made *after* it came back to him, but are quite prepared, at this time, to dissent from the language which Mr. Sparks has used, not certainly for the purpose of obscuring, but to the actual obscuration, of the question of relative contribution by Washington and Hamilton to the Farewell Address.

It may be true literally, as Mr. Sparks says, that “several “letters passed between them.” Suggestions were made on “both sides, some of which were approved and adopted, “others disapproved and rejected. The draughts were “sent back and forth from one to the other.” All this may be true *literally*, but it is not *substantially* correct, to the effect of confounding the work of Hamilton with the work of Washington in the Farewell Address. Washington, at

the outset, proposed clauses in regard to party invectives, and personal sensibility to them, which Hamilton did not approve; and Washington acquiesced in the rejection of them. Hamilton made the work "more copious on material " points, more dignified on the whole, and with less egotism;" and Washington approved. Washington did not reject a single sentence that Hamilton had written or suggested. He said, "I shall expunge certain clauses, as unimportant," &c. &c.; and we shall see what they were by his autograph copy. Seven days after Hamilton's revised draught was sent back to him, Washington suggested two new clauses, one of which Hamilton thought out of place, and Washington acquiesced in its rejection; the other Hamilton said would fitly come into the revision, and it is found in the place which Washington had pointed out as appropriate. The draughts did not go *back and forth* from the one to the other, in the true sense of that idiom. In such a connection, the expression implies repetition, for the purpose of mutual correction and change. It is the same as to and fro,—*several times in opposite directions, for mutual criticism and alteration*. The facts show that there was nothing like it.

The great fact that comes out of the correspondence, is, that Washington, speaking of Hamilton's draught, after a fortnight's consideration, adopts it, with full and strong praise of its excellence, greater copiousness and dignity, and with manifest satisfaction at the prospect of its impression upon discerning readers, foreigners especially. I honor and revere Washington infinitely too much to believe, that he could have expressed this satisfaction, in connection with the thought that Hamilton's relation to the paper was to

be forever concealed, to the abounding of his own praise. The thought was impossible to him. His own sentiments, in their full presentment, must have been the source of his satisfaction, and not his praise from the manner of presenting them. He did not see for himself that there was any occasion to revise the draught. He returned it only in accordance with the writer's wish, for his further improvement of it.

There is even stronger proof of Washington's adoption of this draught, than these expressions. Upon returning the draught for Hamilton's revision, Washington expressly requested, that if change or alteration should take place in it, it should be so clearly interlined, erased, or referred to in the margin, as that no mistake might be made in copying it *for the press*; thus, in some degree, adopting Hamilton's subsequent corrections by anticipation. And well and safely might Washington do so, after perceiving how faithfully, and with what true discernment and feeling, his own sentiments had been already appreciated and expressed by Hamilton.

This full adoption by Washington of Hamilton's corrected original draught, with more than Washington's usual effusion of feeling and language, taken in connection with his eagerness to have it sent back to him without delay, so distinctly marked in any new corrections, as that it might readily be copied for the *press*, and with his further inquiry in regard to the particular gazette that was to publish it, and his request for the draught of a letter to the editor, if that course should be thought best by Hamilton, do amount to such persuasive proof that the revised draught of Hamilton, with or without minor alterations by Washington,

would be copied for the press, signed, and published by him as his Farewell Address, that even if Hamilton's original draught and abstract, as well as the amended and revised draught, had been destroyed or lost forever, no person accustomed to weigh evidence would hesitate to say, from the necessary import of Washington's and Hamilton's letters, that the Farewell Address was copied and printed from a draught by Hamilton, and not from Washington's draught, nor from that draught corrected by Hamilton. I shall postpone for the present, a further accumulation of proofs to the same effect, until I have introduced another topic.

That preparatory draught of Washington, the same which Mr. Sparks has described, and I have called, the *preserved* paper, is so well identified as the draught which Washington sent to Hamilton on the 15th May, 1796, that it must be unnecessary to say more on that point. A draught was sent by Washington to Hamilton at that time, beyond all doubt. This preserved paper corresponds with it in all the points, which the letter of that date refers to. There is no other draught or paper by Washington, and, as far as appears, there never has been, to compete with that preserved paper, for the character it bears, as a preparatory draught by Washington of a Farewell Address. Its own claims to be that draught, are the strongest possible on the face of the preserved paper; and there is not, nor does there appear ever to have been, a paper by Washington, that has any claims whatever to stand in its place. The preserved paper was, therefore, the draught of Washington, which he sent to Hamilton at the date referred to.

Yet, from the inability of Mr. Sparks so to regard it, has proceeded all the indistinctness of his views in regard to the

several contributions of the two parties; and he appears to have been fortified in it by Mr. Jay's letter to Judge Peters. Though not distinct in his views of the degree of participation which each party had in the Farewell Address, Mr. Sparks is very distinct in his expressions, that there were no means of ascertaining what Washington's draught was, though he admits that a draught had been "prepared" by Washington. He remarks that Hamilton's "note" (of the 10th May, 1796) "is dated more than four months before " the Farewell Address was published; and it appears that " a draught of some sort, had already been 'prepared' by " Washington." "What were the contents of the draught " here alluded to, *there are now no means of ascertaining.*" And again: referring to the paper in his own possession as editor of Washington's Writings, which he has described as Hints, or Heads of Topics, he says,—“Whether these hints were “ sent to Hamilton, as here written, or to what extent they “ were previously enlarged and arranged, *cannot now be “ told.*”

The result with Mr. Sparks, therefore, was, that there was no point of beginning or starting, to make his survey of the joint contribution; and the *non-existence* of a ground plot, by Washington, of what he had contributed in particular, was consequently something like a *desideratum* to one, the state of whose information disposed him to leave the definite contribution of each of the parties in uncertainty. It is from this feeling, I incline to think, Mr. Sparks took some support from Mr. Jay's letter which he quotes, as showing that Washington's draught had not been seen by Mr. Jay, and that the character of that draught was therefore still an uncertainty. Mr. Jay's error, in thinking that the Farewell

Address was, and could *only* be with propriety, Washington's draught corrected by Hamilton, was, however, a very much greater error than that of Mr. Sparks, who erred only in point of expectation, that Washington's draught could not be identified.

That interview between Hamilton and Jay, which Mr. Jay's letter to Judge Peters describes, after previously giving at great length, his opinions of Washington, and especially of certain points in Washington's character, and of certain internal evidence in the Farewell Address, to sustain his conviction that Washington *only* was the writer of the Address, merits particular consideration.

It was after the 30th July, 1796, and before the 10th of August following, that the interview occurred. The date is irrefragably fixed in this manner. Hamilton's letter of 5th July to Washington, states that his own original draught was then completed, though not copied and corrected. In his letter to Washington, of the 30th July, Hamilton sent the corrected copy of it to Washington, and said: "I have *begun* the second part of the task, the digesting the supplementary remarks to the first address, which, in a fortnight, I *hope also to send you.*" This was Washington's draught corrected "upon the general plan of it." On the 10th of August, Hamilton sent that corrected draught to Washington. This, therefore, was the corrected draught which, between these last two dates, had been read by Hamilton to Jay, in that interview.

It is proper, in this place, to make a copious extract from the letter of Mr. Jay to Judge Peters, of the 29th March, 1811, from the "Life and Writings of John Jay," vol. ii, p. 336:—

“ Your letter conveyed to me the first and only information I
“ have received, that a copy of President Washington's Valedictory
“ Address had been found among the papers of General Hamilton,
“ and in his handwriting; and that a certain gentleman had also a
“ copy of it in the *same* handwriting.”

“ The intelligence is unpleasant and unexpected. Had the
“ Address been one of those official papers which, in the course of
“ affairs, the Secretary of the proper Department might have pre-
“ pared, and the President have signed, these facts would have
“ been unimportant; but it was a *personal* act,—of choice, not of
“ official duty,—and it was so connected with other obvious consid-
“ erations, as that he only could with propriety write it. In my
“ opinion President Washington must have been sensible of this
“ propriety; and, therefore, strong evidence would be necessary to
“ make me believe that he violated it. Whether he did or did not,
“ is a question which naturally directs our attention to whatever
“ affords presumptive evidence respecting it; and leads the mind
“ into a long train of correspondent reflections. I will give you a
“ summary of those which have occurred to me; not because I think
“ them necessary to settle the point in question, for the sequel will
“ show that they are not, but because the occasion invites me to
“ take the pleasure of reviewing, and bearing testimony to the
“ merits of our departed friend.”

“ Is it to be presumed, from these facts, that General Hamilton
“ was the *real*, and the President only the reputed author of that
“ Address? Although they countenance such a presumption, yet I
“ think its foundation will be found too slight and shallow to resist
“ that strong and full stream of counter-evidence which flows from
“ the conduct and character of that great man: a character not
“ blown up into transient splendor by the breath of adulation, but
“ being composed of his great and memorable deeds, stands, and
“ will forever stand, a glorious monument of human excellence.”

The writer then proceeds to review at great length the character and acts of Washington, and his abilities as a

writer especially, occupying nearly six pages of the volume with this subject; and, distinguishing, at their close, between the full composition of such an address, and the correction of it, which might be a friendly office, he proceeds to say:—

“ Among those to whose judgment and candor President Washington would commit such an interesting and delicate task, where is the man to be found who would have had the hardihood to say to him in substance,—Sir, I have examined and considered your draught of an address: it will not do; it is really good for nothing. But, sir, I have taken the trouble to write a proper one for you; and I now make you a present of it. I advise you to adopt it, and to pass it on the world as your own. The cheat will never be discovered, for you may depend on my secrecy. Sir, I have inserted in it a paragraph that will give the public a good opinion of your modesty. I will read it to you; it is in these words: ‘In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a *very fallible judgment* was capable. Not unconscious in the outset of the *inferiority* of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps *still more* in the eyes of *others*, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself.’ ”

“ If it be possible to find a man among those whom he esteemed capable of offering to him such a present, it is impossible to believe that President Washington was the man to whom such a present would have been acceptable. They who knew President Washington, and his various endowments, qualifications, and virtues, know that, aggregately considered, they formed a *tout ensemble* which has rarely been equalled, and perhaps never excelled.”

“ Thus much for presumptive evidence. I will now turn your attention to some that is direct.

“ The history (if it may be so called) of the Address, is not un-

“ known to me ; but as I came to the knowledge of it under implied
“ confidence, I doubted, when I first received your letter, whether I
“ ought to disclose it. On more mature reflection, I became con-
“ vinced that if President Washington was now alive, and informed
“ of the facts in question, he would not only authorize, but also
“ desire me to reduce it to writing, that, when necessary, it might
“ be used to invalidate the imputations to which those facts give
“ color. This consideration terminated my doubts. I do not think
“ that a disclosure is *necessary* at this moment ; but I fear such a
“ moment will arrive. Whether I shall then be alive, or in capacity
“ to give testimony, is so uncertain, that, in order to avoid the risk
“ of either, I shall now reduce it to writing, and commit it to your
“ care and discretion, *de bene esse*, as the lawyers say.”

“ Some time before the Address appeared, Colonel (afterwards
“ General) Hamilton informed me, that he had received a letter
“ from President Washington, and with it the draught of a Fare-
“ well Address, which the President had prepared, and on which
“ he requested our opinion. He then proposed that we should fix a
“ day for an interview at my house on the subject. A day was ac-
“ cordingly appointed. On that day Colonel Hamilton attended.
“ He observed to me, in words to this effect : that after having read
“ and examined the draught, it appeared to him to be susceptible of
“ improvement—that he thought the easiest and best way was to
“ leave the draught untouched and in its fair state, and to write the
“ whole over, with such amendments, alterations, and corrections as
“ he thought were advisable, and that he had done so. He then
“ proposed to read it, and to make it the subject of our considera-
“ tion. This being agreed upon, he read it ; and we proceeded
“ deliberately to discuss and consider it, paragraph by paragraph,
“ until the whole met with our mutual approbation. Some amend-
“ ments were made during the interview, but none of much impor-
“ tance. Although this business had not been hastily despatched,
“ yet aware of the consequence of such a paper, I suggested the
“ giving it a further critical examination ; but he declined it, say-

“ing that he was pressed for time, and was anxious to return the draught to the President without delay. It afterward occurred to me, that a certain proposition was expressed in terms too general and unqualified, and I hinted it in a letter to the President.”

“As the business took the course above mentioned, a recurrence to the draught was unnecessary, and it was not read. There was this advantage in the course pursued,—the President’s draught remained (as delicacy required) fair, and not obscured by interlineations, &c. By comparing it with the paper sent with it, he would immediately observe the particular emendations and corrections that were proposed, and would find them standing in their intended places. Hence he was enabled to review and decide on the whole matter, with much greater clearness and facility than if he had received them in separate and detached notes, and with detailed references to the pages and lines where they were advised to be introduced.”

All this occurred, we must bear in mind, “some time before the Address appeared” (the 19th September). It can hardly be supposed, that what Mr. Jay, after the lapse of fifteen years, still recollected as *some time*, was less than *some weeks*, in conformity with the date of Hamilton’s letter of the 10th of August.

I do not in this place pause to make a commentary upon the earlier part of this letter, the ironical part of it especially; nor upon that singular misconception of Washington’s true greatness, which made him accept from the hands of Madison, and afterwards tenaciously hold to, those very expressions, which Mr. Jay supposed that no man living, who had Washington’s esteem, would have presented to him, and which he therefore regarded as presumptive evidence that the writing which contained them could have been

written by Washington only. I cannot, however, avoid remarking at this time, that this first elaborate argument against the suggestion that Washington had received assistance in the composition of the Farewell Address, so far as it was founded upon presumption from the language of that Address, or from the character of Washington, is overthrown by facts then existing, though unknown to Mr. Jay, and which are now perfectly clear and plain; and so far as it was founded on the facts of that interview between Hamilton and Jay, is superseded by his own now manifest mistake, in supposing that a part of the case in regard to the formation of the Farewell Address, was the whole. I will restrict my use of the paper in this place, however, to the concluding part of the extract, or rather to Mr. Sparks's inference from it, as he quotes it in his Appendix to the twelfth volume of Washington.

It is irrefragably deducible from this statement, supposing Mr. Jay's recollections of the interview to have been perfectly accurate, after the lapse of fifteen years, that the paper which Hamilton read to him was Washington's draught, "corrected upon the general plan of it," which Hamilton, in his letter of 5th July, said he should prepare and send forward. Washington's draught, Mr. Jay says, was not read at that time, the course of the business having made a recurrence to it unnecessary; which course Mr. Jay describes, as being that of reading from another paper, the draught including the particular emendations and corrections that were proposed, and which emendations and corrections, by comparing his draught with this paper, Washington would find standing in their proper places.

After copying, in his Appendix to the twelfth volume of

Washington's Writings, this portion of Jay's letter, Mr. Sparks says:—

“ It may be observed, that Mr. Jay does not profess to have seen Washington's first draught; and, of course, he could not know what alterations and amendments had been made by Hamilton. He evidently received the impression, however, that the transcript was in its matter essentially the same as the original.”

The fact that Washington's draught was not *read* at that interview, is very clearly stated in Mr. Jay's letter; though there is nothing in the letter which professes that Mr. Jay had not seen the draught, nor which implies that the draught was absent. The contrary would be implied, both from the office to be performed by the parties, and by the general context of Mr. Jay's letter. From Mr. Jay's not catching the name at the foot of the paper, he certainly did not read it; for the name was perfectly visible under the line which erased it, as well as the words crossed by lines above. It is not material whether Mr. Jay received the impression that the transcript was in its matter essentially the same as the original, or not; though I think there is not a word in the letter that implies such an impression, and it must have been a remarkable correction and emendation, if the transcript was in its matter essentially the same as the original. But this is of no importance. The material conclusion of Mr. Sparks is, that Mr. Jay could not know what alterations and amendments had been made by Hamilton. This inference is not quite just to Mr. Jay, nor is it quite logical, from the premises which Mr. Jay states; for the alterations and amendments which had been made by Hamilton in

transcribing it, might have been known by marks on the transcript, or by Hamilton's manner of reading it or commenting upon it; and in one of these ways it must have been known, or Mr. Jay would have omitted to perform the office which Hamilton, in Washington's behalf, had requested of him,—that of giving an opinion upon the draught which “the President had prepared.” Without some such knowledge of the draught, indeed without marks of some kind on the transcript or on the draught, it is difficult to understand how Mr. Jay could write as he does, that “by “comparing it (the President's draught) with the paper “sent with it, he (the President) would *immediately* observe “the particular emendations and corrections that were proposed, and would find them *standing in their intended “places*. Hence he was enabled to review and to decide on “the whole matter with much greater *clearness* and facility, “than if he had received them in separate and detached “notes, and with detailed references to the pages and lines “where they were advised to be introduced.” What clearness and facility, and immediate observation, could Mr. Jay have been able to predicate of alterations and amendments to a draught of which he knew nothing, directly or indirectly, wrought moreover into the body of the transcript, without anything in original or transcript to guide to them? Or how could he know that they would be discovered, except by a laborious collation of every part of Washington's draught with every part of the transcript? It seems to be a great injustice to Mr. Jay, to suppose that he could not know what alterations and amendments Hamilton had made; for this is saying that he had only heard the transcript read, and did not know what part was Washington's, and what

Hamilton's, though the very point of reference to him, for the joint opinion of Hamilton and himself, was Washington's draught, which was submitted to them for their opinion.

These remarks may seem to be superfluous; for, whether accurate or inaccurate, they have little bearing on the main point. But in reading this portion of Mr. Sparks's note on the Farewell Address, I have been at some loss to know, why the omission to read "the President's draught," at that interview, and this inability of Mr. Jay to know what the alterations and amendments of Hamilton were, are emphasized by Mr. Sparks; and whether it implies a doubt on the part of Mr. Sparks, that the draught sent by Washington to Hamilton on the 15th May was before Mr. Jay at that interview, or was the same paper which contained the quotation of Madison's draught and the "Hints, or Heads of Topics," or was something else, unknown to Mr. Sparks, leaving the character of that draught by Washington a matter of still impenetrable obscurity.

Whatever may have been the state of Mr. Sparks's opinion, when he wrote his remarks upon the Farewell Address in the twelfth volume of Washington's Writings, I have little doubt that, with the fuller information that has since appeared, he cannot but be at present of the opinion that Madison's draught and the "Hints, or Heads of Topics," with the beginning and conclusion I have referred to, did constitute the draught which Washington sent to Hamilton with the letter of the 15th May. The fact, without any reasonable doubt, is so; and that what *purported* to be the draught of Washington, was before Hamilton and Jay at the time of that interview, cannot be seriously questioned by anybody.

That is the important fact, that Washington's own

draught was the subject that was before them, with Hamilton's corrections of that draught; and that no other draught was before them. Washington's draught, and Hamilton's transcript of that draught with corrections, were the two matters before them, if they were two matters; or the transcript of Washington's draught with Hamilton's corrections, was the one matter before them, if it was one matter. And nothing else was before them. And this settles entirely the relevancy of Mr. Jay's letter.

Mr. Jay was perfectly ignorant at that time, and probably to the end of his valuable life, that any original draught of a Farewell Address by Hamilton was thought of, by either Washington or Hamilton; and as much so, of course, of the fact, that a copy of such a draught had been sent by Hamilton to Washington, *before the time of that interview*. The fact of such a draught by Hamilton, concerned *himself* as well as Washington. It was a matter still pending. It had no bearing upon the matter which concerned Washington only, to wit, his own draught, for the improvement of which Hamilton, under Washington's authority, asked the conference with Mr. Jay. Hamilton, therefore, appears not to have confided that independent matter to Mr. Jay. It is from Mr. Jay's ignorance of this, and of some other circumstances, that his defective view of the question of the Farewell Address proceeded, as will be further shown hereafter.

Recurring now to the two leading papers, Washington's preparatory draught and Hamilton's original draught, without at present adverting to Hamilton's amendment and revision of his own draught, I will so far anticipate the conclusion that may be drawn from a fuller view of the whole

matter, as to state my apprehension of the general relation which they bear to the finished Farewell Address. An analysis of Hamilton's abstract and original draught hereafter will demonstrate it.

The fundamental or radical thoughts of the Farewell Address appear in Washington's preparatory draught, and without reference to plan or style, and with little obligation otherwise to Madison's draught, which followed Washington's outline, they were originally and substantially Washington's. The selection of those thoughts was his. The responsibility for them was his. The individuality, for use in the Farewell Address, was his. In what was most strictly personal to him, the language of the preparatory draught was frequently, and as often as it could be, brought into the body of Hamilton's draught, and from that into the Address. In other instances, also, the language of Washington was to some extent incorporated with the thoughts. On the other hand, the expurgation of Washington's draught was Hamilton's. The plan of the Farewell Address was that of Hamilton's original draught. The central and dominant thought of the political part of his draught, and of that Address, was selected by him from Washington's thoughts, and made the governing principle of the whole. The bearing of other thoughts upon that centre was devised by him, and the separate suggestions which appeared in various places in Washington's draught, Hamilton developed and augmented, and worked into his draught; and he sustained them, not in the direct logical form, but with collateral illustrations and supports of his own, by which he combined and justified the thoughts of Washington, and made the whole of this portion of the Address which followed his draught, as much an

argument, as Washington's draught had made it a declaration of his political faith.

It is unnecessary to speak of Hamilton's intellectual capacity for the part of the work that was assigned to him ; but his special qualification for it was moral, as much as it was intellectual. It was his full sympathy with Washington in both his personal and political aspirations. He knew better than any man what Washington felt and thought, and as well as any man what Washington ought to feel on the occasion, both as a President and as a man ; and he knew better than Washington what Washington ought to say, and what he ought to suppress, in matters which had personally wronged him. Perhaps any man of sense and discretion is a better judge in this last particular than the party himself ; but Hamilton's special fitness as an adviser in such a matter, sprang from his true conception of Washington's greatness, from sympathy with his glory, from a perfect apprehension of the estimate which the world had formed of him, from accordance with him as to both the men and the policy that were opposed to him, and as to the proper principles of administration under the Constitution ; while, at the same time, Hamilton himself was free from every particle of rivalry or competition with the great chief of the country, and supremely elevated above the desire or thought of vindicating any wrongs of his own, through the resentments, in the same direction, of any person whatever.

Two men were never better fitted for just such a joint work ; fitted by different, and even by contrasting, qualities, and by reciprocal trust and respect.

Hamilton habitually approved Washington's great purposes, and generally his suggestions made upon deliberate

consideration. Washington, on the other hand, approved what Hamilton's constructive as well as analytical mind built up or developed from Washington's suggestions, or corrected by wise qualifications; and ceased to approve even a suggestion of his own, after Hamilton had shown that it was out of place in the position given to it, or out of parallel or keeping with the ideal which Washington's admirers throughout the world had formed of him. Hamilton was slow, therefore, to consent to Washington's abating any portion of his claims through an excessive modesty, or impairing them by condescending to rebuke the invectives which had irritated him, as he knew him to be far above their reach on the great theatre of the world; though he was ready to be overruled where Washington was to speak personally; and probably felt himself to be overruled, in retaining certain parts of Mr. Madison's language.

Washington's practical and executive life—that great preparation of his virtues for the destiny that awaited him—took him away in early youth from long scholastic training in letters, and made them of secondary pursuit with him afterwards. He was not addicted to complex or formal composition, though he wrote well and effectively. The seeds of all sound political and moral action were in him, and they grew and expanded with his position, until it became the highest in the country; and his also was a singularly wise judgment to apply the work of another in aid of his own knowledge or design; but suggestiveness and facility were not the most striking properties of his mind. Hamilton, on the other hand, strenuously cultivated from his youth, his remarkable genius for speculative inquiry, for political and legal argument, and for arrangement and order in the mar-

shalling of his thoughts for either persuasion or demonstration. His was the germinating, arranging, and exhibitiv mind, the mind to make a structure from the separate materials provided by the mind of Washington; but no structure that Hamilton or any one could raise, was beyond the accurate survey and scrutiny of Washington, or his ability to appreciate the nature and degree of the connection, dependency, and coherence of the parts. Such was the adaptation of Washington and Hamilton to the work of the Farewell Address.

Hamilton's *original draught*, as printed in the seventh volume of his Works,—of which a corrected copy was sent to Washington on the 30th July, 1796,—is the starting-point in the collation and comparison of Hamilton's work, with the Farewell Address. The draught was altogether Hamilton's preparation, and there can be no doubt of the genuineness and authenticity of this document. The original, in his handwriting, is deposited in the Department of State. The copy in his Works has been published under the authority of Congress. It is printed in such a manner as, by reference to words and sentences at the foot of the pages, to indicate what are called in the first note, "the *final* alterations in this draught," which does not mean the final alterations, from the corrected copy sent to Washington the 30th July, nor from the *revision* sent to Washington on the 6th September; but the final alterations in *this*, the original draught, before it was amended and sent to Washington, on the 30th July.

The comparison of the Farewell Address must, in the first instance, be made with this draught. The *revision* of the draught, or, as Hamilton expressed it in his letter to

Washington of 5th September, "the draught corrected "agreeably to your intimations," was sent to Washington on the 6th September, having been returned by Washington to Hamilton for revision, at his request, on the 25th August. It was not found, Mr. Sparks says, among the papers of Washington. Doubtless Mr. Sparks has never seen it. It may, or may not, appear hereafter.

The disappearance of this paper is remarkable. It is the only paper which relates to the formation of the Farewell Address, that has disappeared from the papers of Washington on this head, from the year 1792. All the other papers, it will be seen, came into the hands of Mr. Sparks, the editor of Washington's Writings. There were several of them, without including the letters of Madison or Hamilton;—Madison's draught, Washington's copy of that draught, his own paper, called by Mr. Sparks "Hints, or "Heads of Topics," Washington's completed paper sent to Hamilton, and Hamilton's correction of that paper by incorporation of amendments. They were all found among the papers of Washington. This copy of Hamilton's original draught, his revision, is acknowledged by Washington, commented upon by him several times by letter, was returned by Washington to Hamilton, sent back to Washington, after revision, by Hamilton, according to Washington's urgent request, for the purpose of being immediately copied and sent to the press; and though its safe arrival does not, from any letter that remains, appear to have been expressly acknowledged by Washington, the short clause on *Education* prepared by Hamilton at Washington's instance, expressly mentioned by Hamilton as having been made in the *revision*, and which appears in Washington's Farewell Address, in the place which

Washington pointed out in Hamilton's copy where it might conveniently come in,—that little clause, if every other proof had failed, is as full a letter of acknowledgment that the revision had come back safely to Washington's hands, as the most formal receipt which Washington could have signed. All these papers were probably kept *together* by Washington in one place, after the Farewell Address was published. We know Washington's extraordinary habits of order and care in the arrangement and preservation of his papers. His editor has shown it, in the preface to his work. All the other papers I have described, remained at his death; and they passed into the possession of his nephew and legatee, Bushrod Washington, one of the most pure, single-minded, conscientious, and virtuous men, whom this or any other country has produced. All the papers of Washington were his special bequest to this nephew, the venerated Judge of the Supreme Court, and of the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Pennsylvania. He died in Philadelphia, on the 26th of November, 1829; and four or five years before that time, he had placed in the hands of Mr. Sparks the mass of Washington's papers, for the preparation of an edition of Washington's Writings.

No person upon earth, who knew Bushrod Washington, can possibly believe that such a paper as Hamilton's draught, or any other important paper in Washington's cabinet at Mount Vernon, could have been separated or displaced from the mass by him, or with his consent, for the purpose of concealment. It is equally impossible that it could have been so separated and put aside by Mr. Sparks, or with his consent. I have the fullest faith, and so must every one have, who knows the character of Mr. Sparks, that this

paper did not come into his possession. He has stated to that effect, in a written list of the papers appertaining to the Farewell Address, which was prepared several years since, a copy of which I have seen.

It would be dangerous, and is quite unnecessary, to indulge in any speculations concerning the loss or displacement of this paper. I should be willing to suppose it to have been altogether an accident; and so far as imputations from me are concerned, it must be considered as so regarded on my part; but there is an intimation (as Mr. Jay's reply states it) in Judge Peters's letter to Mr. Jay of the 14th March, 1811, that there were two copies of the Farewell Address, in Hamilton's handwriting, of which Judge Peters had been recently informed,—one among the papers of General Hamilton, and another in the possession of a *certain* person, whose name is not mentioned. As the only two papers in Hamilton's handwriting, which could purport to be copies of the Farewell Address, were the original draught of Hamilton, and the copy sent to Washington, *namely*, the paper now in question, there may doubtless be, in this intimation, a reference to the missing paper. But it is useless to attempt to follow it out, with so imperfect a light, which possibly may also be a deceptive one. One remark, and one only, will suffice, before I proceed to other matters.

The missing paper could not have been displaced or taken with a view to *assist* the claims of Hamilton or his family to the authorship of the Farewell Address. If there was any consciousness in regard to the question of authorship, by the person who took possession of it, the paper would have been produced before this, if it had been of a nature to

defeat those claims; and no friend to Hamilton's claims would have suppressed it, if it had been found to make those claims perfectly demonstrative without the trouble of argument.

One consequence of the absence of this *revision* must be kept in mind,—and it is quite an important one, unless it can be supplied to some extent, as it probably can be. As the original draught of Hamilton was “considerably “amended,” as well as revised and corrected by him, and as Washington, also, altered some of the words of the *revision*, we have no absolute assurance that the words of the Farewell Address which are not found in the *original draught*, were contained in Hamilton's amended copy, or in his revision of it; nor, on the other hand, that they were placed in the Farewell Address by Washington himself. And the like must be said of any part of the *original draught*, which is not found in the Farewell Address. We have no absolute assurance that such part was struck out by Hamilton, in his amended copy, or in the revision; for it may have been struck out by Washington *after* the revision came to his hands. Either Hamilton or Washington may have done it. Which of them did it, will be a question of probabilities, when we look at the differences, as shown in the light of Washington's autograph Address. The main question of authorship, in the literary sense, will not however be sensibly affected by the absence of Hamilton's *revision*.

In comparing the original draught of Hamilton with the Farewell Address, which the reader must to a great degree do for himself, the characteristics of identity in mechanism and substance will be found to be very strong in the following particulars: 1. The length or extent of each is about the

same, and the material almost wholly the same. The extent, about nineteen printed pages, largely exceeds any draught of Washington that consisted only of the materials noticed in Mr. Sparks's Appendix, or were sent by Washington to Hamilton with his letter of 15th May. It exceeds them more than twofold, which is quite sufficient to account for Washington's remark in his letter of 10th August: "the doubt that occurs at first view is the length of it for a newspaper publication." 2. The number of paragraphs is about the same. In the Farewell Address they are fifty-one; in the *original draught* they are fifty. But there have been a few divisions and consolidations of original paragraphs of the Farewell Address, as it stands in Washington's Works, and one paragraph has certainly been added by Hamilton in his revision, and two or three by him, or by Washington. The final result is, that the paragraphs are still about the same in number. 3. And this is material: *the order or collocation of paragraphs, and the subjects of them, from the beginning to the end of the two papers*, the original draught and the Farewell Address, *is one and the same*, making allowance for the division and consolidation of paragraphs before named, and the expansion in two instances. There is no transposition of the order that we have detected, except in a partial degree, in a single instance, where part of a paragraph at the end of page 576 and the beginning of page 577 of the original draught in the seventh volume of Hamilton's Works, is wrought into the last two clauses of the Farewell Address. In more than twenty instances the paragraphs in the Farewell Address begin with the identical words of the corresponding paragraphs in the draught, treating of the same subjects in almost the same language to the close. In at least nine

other instances, a word at the beginning of a paragraph in the draught is changed in the Farewell Address; as *essentially* for *substantially*; *cherish* good faith, for *observe* good faith; *towards* the execution, for *in* the execution; *in like manner*, for *so likewise*; *why should we forego*, for *why forego*; *in reference to the present war of Europe*, for *in relation to the subsisting war in Europe*; *after deliberate consideration*, for *after deliberate examination*; *to the duration and efficacy of your Union*, for *to the efficacy and permanency of your Union*; *I have already observed*, for *I have already intimated*. In all these instances the corresponding paragraphs proceed with the same subject, and generally in the same language to the close. Such differences are a conclusive proof of origin, by uniform limitation of change, along with uniform continuation of subject, and generally of words, without any change.

This conformity in subject and language may be illustrated by a paragraph, taken as an instance, from the body of the Farewell Address, being the sixteenth paragraph of that Address, and the nineteenth of Hamilton's original draught, six of Hamilton's previous paragraphs having been consolidated in three in the Address, one having been divided into two, and one altogether omitted.

HAMILTON.

ORIGINAL DRAUGHT.

To the duration and efficacy of your Union, a government extending over the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict between the parts, could be an adequate substitute. These could not fail to be liable to the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in

WASHINGTON.

FAREWELL ADDRESS.

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have ex-

all times have suffered. Sensible of this important truth, you have lately established a Constitution of general government, better calculated than the former for an intimate union, and more adequate to the duration of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting energy with safety, and containing in itself a provision for its own amendment, is well entitled to your confidence and support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties dictated by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the Constitution for the time, and until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly binding upon all. The very idea of the right and power of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.—*Hamilton's Works*, vol. vi, p. 582.

perienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay by the adoption of a Constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the Constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.—*Washington's Writings*, vol. xii, p. 222.

It is not speaking too strongly to say that the *third* characteristic I have mentioned, is decisive. It is decisive of the origin of the Farewell Address, whatever may have been the verbal alterations of Hamilton's original draught, or of Hamilton's revision of that draught, or by Washington's

autograph copy—even attributing all the changes to Washington, and none of them to Hamilton's correction and *revision*. If a paper of fifty paragraphs is found thus to conform to a paper that preceded it, and especially to one that was written to be the exemplar of it, in corresponding paragraphs, identical subjects and thoughts, and closely in language, though with an occasional difference in words, every reasonable person must say that the first paper was the source of the second.

Mr. Babbidge, in the ninth Bridgewater Treatise, has expressed mathematically, the proportional value of all human experience against a miracle,—Mr. Hume's theory,—as being two hundred thousand millions against one; and at the same time has shown by the same method, that the improbabilities of error in the agreement of six independent witnesses of good character, unknown to, or without collusion with, each other, and not deceived respectively more than once in a hundred times, and testifying to the restoration to life of a dead man, are fivefold as great, that is to say, a million millions against one. We have at least the benefit of the *Humean* proportional improbability against the preparation by one man of such a paper as the Farewell Address, without following the preceding paper written by another man; for certainly all human experience is against it. But, far beyond that, we have nearly fifty paragraphs as witnesses, testifying exactly in the same direction; and, considering the perhaps infinite variety of thoughts, language, taste, and arrangement in the written compositions of different men from the same theme, we may be entitled to say, that no finite succession of numbers can express the true extent of the improbability of such a correspondence as exists be-

tween the Farewell Address and Hamilton's original draught, without the copying of the one, either mediately or immediately, from the other.

The Farewell Address, if thus compared with Hamilton's original draught, will be found to be a transcript of the draught, with verbal corrections, and the omission of certain clauses, adding three or four short clauses at the most—alterations by Hamilton, or by Washington, or partly by one, and partly by the other.

This review of the two structures, throws us back to the source or sources of Hamilton's original draught. If Hamilton was the author of his original draught, that is to say, the composer and writer of it, and the Farewell Address was a transcript of that draught with verbal corrections, and a clause or two struck out or added, then Hamilton was in the same sense the composer and writer of the Farewell Address.

But was Hamilton the composer and writer of his original draught? This is a perfectly proper question, and a sensible one, also; for a writer may have copied and not composed the paper, which another has followed, or he may have taken frequent and large sentences from the works of other men, and mechanically followed their plan and arrangement in all points. He may have formed his own paper to a great extent from antecedent materials, giving it very little of his own, so that he is only the compiler of the paper.

There exist authentic materials for answering this question with very considerable certainty, and which answer will do Washington full justice, and Madison also all the justice that can be claimed for him. That justice is to be derived through Washington's preparatory draught—the *preserved* paper.

Hamilton, with the just view of making the paper he was about to write, conform to the sentiments of Washington, either expressed or understood, and meaning also to produce a paper that should by its topics, and the order of their development, engage and impress the minds of patriotic and wise men throughout the country, prepared an "*abstract of* "points to form an Address," which is printed in the seventh volume of his published Works, page 570; and this paper has such a clear and important bearing upon the question of authorship, and has received so little attention from any one heretofore in this relation, that it must have the more of it at this time.

The points or divisions of matter are twenty-three in number, distinguished by Roman numerals.

The first ten of these divisions, without any subdivisions among them, embrace the expression of Washington's sentiments and feelings in regard to the announcement of his intention to retire; his previous hope, that long ere this it would have been in his power to do so; and that he had nearly come to a final resolution in the year 1792 to do it, but had been dissuaded from it by the peculiar situation of affairs, and the advice of confidential friends; his acquiescence at that time in a further election, in hopes that a year or two longer would have enabled him to withdraw; but that a continuance of causes had delayed it till now, when the position of our country, abroad and at home, justified him in pursuing his inclination; and that in doing it, he had not been unmindful of his relation as a dutiful citizen to his country, nor was he now influenced by the slightest diminution of zeal for its interest, or gratitude for its past kindness, but by a belief that the step was compatible with both.

These sentiments occupy the first *four* divisions, by which it may be seen how carefully Hamilton prepared himself to carry the spirit of Washington, even in minute personal particulars, into the Address.

Still continuing the writer's preparation of heads to introduce like particulars, the *fifth* head adverts to the fact that the impressions under which Washington first accepted the office were explained on the proper occasion: the *sixth*, 'that
' in the execution of it, he had contributed the best exertions
' of a very fallible judgment, anticipated his insufficiency,
' experienced his disqualifications for the difficult trust, and
' every day a stronger sentiment from that cause to yield the
' place. Advance into the decline of life, every day more sensible of weight of years, of the necessity of repose, of the
' duty to seek retirement,' &c. "Add, *seventh*, It will be
" among the purest enjoyments which can sweeten the remnant of his days, to partake, in a private station, in the
" midst of his fellow-citizens, the laws of a free government,
" the ultimate object of his cares and wishes."

The *eighth* division records the single word "Rotation;" a subject introduced into Madison's draught at Washington's suggestion. The *ninth*, that "in contemplating the moment
" of retreat, he cannot forbear to express his deep acknowledgments and debt of gratitude for the many honors conferred on him—the steady confidence which, even amidst
" discouraging scenes and efforts to poison its source, has adhered to support him, and enabled him to be useful—
" marking, if well placed, the virtue and wisdom of his countrymen. All the return he can now make must be in
" the vows he will carry with him in his retirement: 1st. For
" a continuance of the Divine beneficence to the country.

“ 2d. For the perpetuity of their union and brotherly affection—for a good administration insured by a happy union of watchfulness and confidence. 3d. That happiness of people under auspices of liberty may be complete. 4th. That by a prudent use of the blessing, they may recommend it to the affection, the praise, and the adoption of every nation yet a stranger to it.”

The *tenth* is as follows: “ Perhaps here we ought to end. But an unconquerable solicitude for the happiness of his country will not permit him to leave the scene, without availing himself of whatever confidence may remain in him to strengthen some sentiments which he believes to be essential to their happiness, and to recommend some rules of conduct, the importance of which his own experience has more than ever impressed on him.”

Thus far these sentiments in the abstract are gleaned from the draught of Madison, who in part took them from the letter of Washington, and in part originated them under his instructions; but they are much more Madison's than they are Washington's in point of origin; and having been adopted by Washington in his draught, Hamilton has followed them, and except in one point, hereafter to be noted, a point suggested by Washington in his letter to Madison, has exhausted Madison's draught, modified some of his expressions, and placed them in the abstract in an order in some respects Hamilton's own. They are subsequently introduced at the commencement of Hamilton's draught, in language something more easy and fluent, though equally plain, omitting one head altogether, the head of *rotation* in office, and changing one phrase of some sharpness responsive to Washington's sensibility to invective, “ amidst discouraging scenes

“and efforts to poison its source,” into “situations in which “not unfrequently want of success has seconded the criticisms of malevolence;” and thus abating the pungency of the phrase in the abstract.

The effort to keep from the Address every pointed reference to the political party maltreatment which Washington thought he had received, is conspicuous on the part of Hamilton throughout, his noble design being to make it speak a language that was both generous and catholic, and which would meet with acceptance at all future time by wise and good men. ROTATION—Hamilton leaves out altogether from his draught, thinking, no doubt, though Madison introduced it upon Washington's qualified suggestion, or perhaps unqualified, if the original letter to Madison is a truer reading than that of Mr. Sparks,* that mere rotation, without regard to circumstances, was unreasonable and restrictive of the Constitution; and that to attempt to state the circumstances, would lead to suppositions and discriminations which would not obtain general assent. In such matters the subsequent surrender by Washington of personal feelings and personal predilection, shows both the soundness of his judgment and the nobleness of his spirit. Even the word “malevolent” has been struck from the Address, either by Hamilton in his corrected copy, or in his revision, or by Washington himself.

After these heads of the abstract, come the great heads of the work, with the subdivisions of some of them; and it is here that the public principles of the Address begin to assume their order, and to receive their analysis.

The central thought and sentiment of the piece is the

* See p. 19, *supra*.

UNION, which is the *eleventh* head; and from this all subsequent thoughts radiate, and it may be said, with equal truth, that they all converge to it, illustrate its value, and tend to corroborate it. "It is the rock of their salvation; presenting summarily these ideas: 1. Strength and greater security from external danger. 2. Internal peace, and avoiding the necessity of establishments dangerous to liberty. 3. Avoids the effect of foreign intrigue. 4. Breaks the force of factions, by rendering combinations more difficult." The great natural bond of Union,—what may almost be called the religion of its nature, is selected by the abstract as the first matter to be developed—"the fitness of the parts for each other by their very discriminations. 1. The North, by its capacity for maritime strength and manufacture. 2. The agricultural South furnishing materials, and requiring those protections. The Atlantic board to the western country by the strong interests of peace, and the western by the necessity of Atlantic maritime protection. Cannot be sure of their great outlet otherwise—cannot trust a foreign connection. Solid interests invite to Union. Speculations of difficulty of government ought not to be indulged, nor momentary jealousies—lead to impatience. Faction and individual ambition are the only advisers of "disunion:" and then, noting for remembrance the jealousies existing at that time in the West, in regard to the Mississippi and its outlet, and the late treaty with Spain, which tended to allay them, it repeats, "Let confidence be cherished; let the recent experience of the West be a lesson against impatience and distrust."

The *twelfth* is the "actual government," the government which the Constitution provides for the Union. "Cherish

“ the actual government. It is the government of our own
 “ choice—free in its principles, the guardian of our common
 “ rights, the patron of our common interests, and containing
 “ within itself a provision for its own amendment. But let
 “ that provision be cautiously used—not abused ; changing
 “ only, in any material points, as experience shall direct ;
 “ neither indulging speculations of too much or too little
 “ force in the system, and remembering always the extent of
 “ our country. Time and habit of great consequence to every
 “ government, of whatever structure. Discourage the spirit
 “ of faction, the bane of free government ; and particularly
 “ avoid founding it on geographical discriminations. Discoun-
 “ tenance slander of public men. Let the departments of
 “ government avoid interfering and mutual encroachments.”

These being the guiding notes for a comprehensive statement of the particular advantages of the government which the Constitution had provided, of the means of amending cautiously its defects, when ascertained, and of the dangers which might threaten it, founded on geographical discriminations, or promoted by encroachments of the departments on each other, the abstract proceeds with heads, to introduce such admonitions as concern the people in their personal relations, private and public : “ *Thirteenth.* Morals, “ religion, industry, commerce, economy—Cherish public “ credit—Source of strength and security—Adherence to “ systematic views.”

“ Also their relations to foreign nations : *Fourteenth.*
 “ Cherish good faith, justice, and peace with other nations.
 “ 1. Because religion and morality dictate it. 2. Because
 “ policy dictates it. If there could exist a nation inva-
 “ riably honest and faithful, the benefits would be immense.

“ But avoid national antipathies or national attachments :” and then follows, in emphatic italics, “ *Display the evils : fertile source of wars, instrument of ambitious rulers.*”

As distinct heads, then follow four others, which branch out naturally from the preceding: “ *Fifteenth.* Republics “peculiarly exposed to foreign intrigue ; those sentiments “lay them open to it. *Sixteenth.* The great rule of our “foreign policy ought to be to have as little political con- “nection as possible with foreign nations ; cultivating com- “merce with all by general and natural means, diffusing and “diversifying it, but *forcing nothing* ; and cherish the senti- “ment of *independence*, taking pride in the appellation of “American ;” and against this last note the margin adds, “establishing temporary and convenient rules, that com- “merce may be placed on a stable footing ; merchants know “their commerce ; how to support them, not seeking *favours.*” “ *Seventeenth.* Our separation from Europe renders standing “alliances inexpedient, subjecting our peace and interest to “the primary and complicated relations of European inte- “rests. Keeping constantly in view to place ourselves upon “a respectable *defensive*, and, if forced into controversy, “trusting to connections of the occasion. *Eighteenth.* Our “attitude imposing, and rendering this policy safe. But “this must be with the exception of existing engagements, “to be preserved, but not extended.”

The remaining heads of division may be noticed summarily. The *nineteenth* is a hint to remark, that it is not expected that these admonitions can control the course of human passions ; but if it moderates them in some instances, Washington's endeavor is rewarded. The *twentieth*, that the public records must witness how far his administra-

tion has conformed to these principles. His conscience assures him that he believed himself to be guided by them. *Twenty-first.* "Particularly in relation to the present war, "the proclamation of 22d April, 1793, is the key to my "plan. Approved by your voice, and that of your representatives in Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually guided me, uninfluenced by, and regardless of, the "complaints and attempts of any of the powers at war, or "their partisans, to change them." "I thought our country "had a right, under all the circumstances, to take this "ground, and I was resolved, as far as it depended on me, "to maintain it firmly." There is a memorandum in the margin of the second clause of this division, to "touch sentiments with regard to conduct of belligerent powers. A "wish that France may establish good government." Against the last clause of it are these words: "Time everything." The *twenty-second* is a clause which is introduced into the original draught of Hamilton, in substantially the same words, and almost *verbatim* from that draught into the Farewell Address of Washington, of which it is the penultimate clause. It frankly declares, that however, in reviewing the course of his administration, he may be unconscious of intentional error, he is too sensible of his own deficiencies not to believe that he may have fallen into many—deprecates the evils to which they may tend, and prays Heaven to avert, or mitigate or abridge them;—that he carries with him, nevertheless, the hope that his motives will continue to be viewed with indulgence; that after forty-five years of his life devoted to public service, with a good zeal and upright views, the faults of deficient abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as himself must soon be to the mansions

of rest.—We cannot help envying the noble emotion with which Hamilton repeated this clause, which was Washington's own thought, out of the full consciousness of what was stirring in Washington's great heart!

The *twenty-third*, and last clause of the abstract, is substantially the same with the corresponding clause in the draught, but is completely altered in the concluding clause of the Farewell Address. Both the clause in the abstract, and the clause in the draught, are taken from the *conclusion* to Washington's original or preparatory draught. The alteration in the Farewell Address is by Washington.

It is a declaration that neither interest nor ambition had been Washington's impelling motive—that he had never abused the power confided to him—that he had not bettered his fortune, retiring with it no otherwise improved, than by the influence on property of the common blessings of his country. “I retire,” it says, “with undefiled hands and an uncorrupt heart, and with ardent vows for the welfare of that country which has been the native soil of my ancestors for four generations.” The sentiments were all just, and were all suggested, in nearly the same words, by Washington, in the concluding section of Washington's own draught to which I have referred; and therefore his friend and minister would be naturally desirous that he should close his valediction with the expression of them; but they bordered upon what the world might mistake for vain-gloriousness, in regard to his motives, his purity, his fortune, and his family; and we may take pleasure in supposing, that this final clause Washington himself preferred to put aside, as he did, excepting only the reference to his American ancestors, the bond of his affection for his country, the view of whose coming

happiness and greatness, seemed to gild the last words of his Farewell.

After having thus placed before the reader this clear and orderly abstract, with but little more elucidation than a copy of it would give to every one in reading it, we feel some confidence in remarking, that it would be written as a *syllabus* of Hamilton's original draught, without recurring to Hamilton's *abstract*. The syllabus might be considerably fuller in some parts, and less full in others. It might omit, in one or two places, what the abstract notices, and it might notice in more what the abstract does not contain. But they would substantially concur; and no person of intelligence, who peruses the draught with the abstract before him, can fail to perceive that the draught is the regular and orderly expansion of the abstract, and a symmetrical structure, of which the abstract is the frame,—in some parts the full frame, in other parts the more open frame. This structure and frame, then, are Hamilton's incontestably.

The first portions of the *frame*, where it is fullest, were taken in separate parts from portions of Washington's preparatory draught, as Mr. Madison had sketched it, and also as Washington had completed it; but by Hamilton they are placed in a new order. They are what may be called the personal parts of that draught, having reference to his own relations with the government, his previous wish to retire, his present intention to do so, and his motives and feelings in regard to the retirement. In these particulars the language of Washington's draught is adopted as far as it could be. The *structure* is built upon, and with, and around Washington's principles and sentiments as they appear throughout his draught, but upon a plan altogether new,

none of the elements provided by Washington being omitted, except such as had too pointed a reference to partisan opposition, and the whole being enlarged and combined together by the collateral thoughts and illustrations of Hamilton upon his new plan; and this entire plan goes into the Farewell Address, some portion of the filling up by Hamilton's original draught being omitted, most probably by Hamilton in his amended copy or in his *revision*, and other portions struck out by Washington from his final copy, though Hamilton had introduced several of them from express passages in Washington's preparatory draught. Adopting a mechanical measure of contribution by the preparatory draught of Washington, when compared with the original matter by Hamilton, as he extended it in his draught, Washington's part was not in quantity a moiety of the whole. But such a measure of those contributions, is obviously unsatisfactory and defective. We may get a better notion of them by an analysis of Hamilton's original draught, which will be in fact an analysis of Washington's Farewell Address. I may say, however, that the principal original contribution by Mr. Madison, is that which repeats the vows that Washington would carry into his retirement and his grave, and is the ninth head of Hamilton's abstract. All else is substantially, and by original suggestion, Washington's or Hamilton's.

In his original draught, Hamilton made the unity of Government, or THE UNION, the central and radiating thought, and the focus to which all important reflections from any quarter of the work, except the personal introduction, tended. Washington had breathed a warm wish of his heart for the maintenance of the Union, in that paragraph of the Hints or Heads of Topics, which I have already transcribed,—

“that it,” our Union, “may be as lasting as time;” and many of his sentiments have an obvious influence upon the prosperity and continuance of the Union; but he does not expressly connect them with that object, nor make it the point to which they converge.

In Hamilton's original draught, after the personal introduction, the great subject is opened at once. Of the love of liberty, which is first noticed, no recommendation was necessary to fortify the attachment of the people to it. Two lines only are given to that subject. But after these lines which enter upon the topics of advice and admonition, as soon as the introduction had closed, all that follows the expression, UNITY OF GOVERNMENT, is exhibited and comprehended as inducements of sympathy, or motives of interest, in the people, to maintain the Union.

Hamilton calls it the main pillar of their independence, of their peace, their safety, freedom, and happiness. In his abstract he had called it THE ROCK OF THEIR SALVATION; but, with great propriety, as Washington was to speak, he left that phrase to its more solemn appropriation, and substituted in his draught “the MAIN PILLAR OF THEIR INDEPENDENCE.”

He first speaks of it as the point in their political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies would be most constantly and actively, however covertly and insidiously, levelled; and therefore it was of the utmost importance that they should appreciate in its full force the immense value of their political union to their national and individual happiness, that they should cherish towards it an affectionate and immovable attachment, and should watch for its preservation with zealous solicitude.

For this, he says, you have every motive of sympathy and

interest; and following Washington's thoughts, and in some degree his language, appeals to the people as "children for the most part of a common country," and declares that that country claims, and ought to concentrate their affections; that the name of American must always gratify and exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any denomination which can be derived from local considerations. "You have, with slight shades of difference, the same religion, manners, habits, and political institutions and principles; you have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together. The independence and liberty you enjoy are the work of joint councils, efforts, dangers, sufferings, and successes. By your union you achieved them, by your union you will most effectually maintain them."

After adverting to the considerations which addressed themselves to the sympathy or sensibility of the people to maintain the Union, he proceeds to show that they were greatly strengthened or outweighed by those which applied to their interest; and that here every portion of our country would find the most urgent and commanding motives for guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

It is then that he introduces that pregnant paragraph, both succinct and comprehensive, which unfolds the relations, capacities, and dependencies of the North, the South, the East, and the West, their strength in combination, their proportional security from external danger, less frequent interruption of peace with foreign nations, and exemption from broils and wars between the parts, if disunited, which their rivalships, fomented by foreign intrigue and opposite alliance with foreign nations, would produce. The germinal thought is Washington's, the germination is Hamilton's.

The advantages of union being regarded as so conclusive in this aspect, he proceeds to show that the *spirit of party*, the *intrigue of foreign nations*, and the *corruption and ambition of individuals*, are likely to prove more formidable adversaries to the unity of our empire, than any inherent difficulties in the scheme; and that it was against these that the guards of *national opinion*, *national sympathy*, *national prudence*, and *virtue*, were to be erected.

Then begins the reference to party differences of opinion, to menaces of dissolution from one part to another, on account of this or that measure, tending to make men consider the Union as precarious, and to weaken the sentiment in its favor; with an emphatic rebuke of parties characterized by geographical discriminations—Northern and Southern States—Atlantic and Western country—producing groundless jealousies, which make men aliens to their brethren, and connect them with aliens; and sustaining the rebuke by a reference to the care of the Administration in negotiating treaties with Spain for the special benefit of the West, and to confirm their prosperity.

This jealousy between sections, necessitates the Union and *one government*, for which no alliance between the parts can be a substitute; and here the draught appropriately refers to the Constitution, the offspring of the people's choice, and amendable by them in case of need, but, until changed, sacredly binding upon all, and the government under it, the offspring of like choice, entitled to respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, and acquiescence in its measures, as well by the fundamental maxims of true liberty, as by the principle that the right to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established

government. All obstructions to laws, all combinations and associations to counteract the regular action of the established authorities, are therefore contrary to the fundamental principle, and of the most fatal tendency; and in like manner, a spirit of innovation upon the principles of the Constitution, by effecting alterations in its forms, which tend to impair the energy of the system. Time and habit are as necessary to fix the true habits of governments, as of any other human institutions. Experience, and not hypothesis and opinion, is the surest standard by which the tendency of existing constitutions of government can be tried.

The draught, after thus noticing the Constitution and one government as indispensable to the duration of the Union, and that no alliances between parts would be a substitute, recurs to the subject of party spirit, and solemnly cautions the people against its baneful effects. The view before taken is enlarged, so as to comprehend the general aspect of this feeling, its shapes, its growth, the domination of one faction over another, the spirit of revenge it excites, and the formal and permanent despotism in which at length it ends. Disorders and miseries resulting from this, predispose men to seek repose in the power of a single man; and the leader of a prevailing faction turns the disposition to the purposes of his ambitious self-aggrandizement.

Further consequences result from it: it distracts the counsels and enfeebles the administration of government—opens inlets for foreign corruption and influence, which find an easy access through the channel of party passions. The notion that parties in free countries are a salutary check upon the administration of government, and tend to invigorate the spirit of liberty, is, within certain limits, true. In

monarchical governments, patriotism may look upon it with favor; in those of a popular kind and purely elective, it is not to be fostered.

The draught then proceeds to the *guards* of national opinion,—in habits of thinking among the people, to produce caution in the several departments, that they may avoid encroachments upon one another, and change, by usurpation; of national sympathy, virtue, and prudence, by recommendations of religion and morality, industry and frugality; to the nurture of public credit, as a means of security and strength; to good faith and justice, as leading to peace and harmony with all nations. The last topic is particularly developed in its bearing upon the influence of foreign nations,—the national attachments and antipathies it avoids; the immense dangers of both; the partialities which the neglect of it produces, denying privileges to one and conceding them to another—exciting jealousy and ill-will, and giving to ambitious and corrupted citizens, facility in betraying or sacrificing their own country.

Perhaps the finest lessons in the draught of the Address are taught in this part of it, which unfolds the topic of foreign influence, its mischiefs and impolicy, and the dissuaves from it which are supplied by the true interests of a united nation. It was a pressing evil in the day of the Farewell Address. It carried our country to the very edge of the precipice, from which we might have fallen to dismemberment and ruin, by coalition with France, and her wars of ambition against the world. If the Farewell Address saved us from this, though it saved us from nothing else, it would deserve to be regarded as a blessing from Heaven through the counsels of Washington, not less in

magnitude than the blessing of Independence, which was vouchsafed to his sword.

It is with this topic that the draught finishes the central subject and argument. The remainder of it is occupied with a reference to the proclamation of neutrality, and the then existing war, the only occasional topics of the Address ; and it concludes with a modest peroration, corresponding with the abstract, and breathing the full heart of the Father of his Country, to his native land and the people he had always loved, and had served for three-quarters of his life.

This analysis of the original draught has been made with two objects in view. The first has been to demonstrate the connection between the draught and the abstract, and that the draught was the appropriate clothing of the abstract, fitting it as the muscles of the human body do their proper bones, and having such development and expansion only as were necessary to give it fit expression and energetic action. Where Hamilton had the clue to Washington's language as well as thoughts, he followed it faithfully, as faithfully in the abstract as in the draught ; where he had the guidance of Washington's thoughts or suggestions alone, he notes the subject more briefly in the abstract, intending to give the rein more liberally to his own thoughts and language in the development of the draught. We get the pith of the address in the abstract ; and when we go to the draught, we find it all plainly and most perspicuously drawn out, so as to be intelligible to every capacity, that it might be understood by "the yeomanry," and at the same time so becomingly, as to "meet the eye of discerning readers, particularly foreigners," yet not containing, perhaps, a single

metaphor or figure of speech, which is not a perfectly familiar one, that it might not be accused of artifice or insincerity. It is perfectly accurate, in the best style of an elevated state paper, its general propositions everywhere so qualified, in a natural and easy manner, as to make them irrefutable, and without a sentence that is dogmatical, or is averred upon personal authority,—every proposition being sustained by both reason and persuasion, the conscience of the writer going on step by step to the end, in union with his intellect. If Hamilton had not deeply loved and respected Washington, he could not have so clothed his abstract with his draught. But this is not all the merit or the claim.

If this is not authorship, in some sense, I know not what authorship is, and it covers the entire paper, Washington's thoughts, and Madison's thoughts, and all. It seems, indeed, to be rather a case of complex and skilful authorship in Hamilton, as we think it must be conceded to be by every man who has tried his pen in composition, to make a regular work from irregular or unconnected materials, to expand them into new forms, and to give them bearing throughout upon one great and cardinal point, the union of the people: the only object for which it was worth Washington's while to give his counsels to the country, all else in the Address being ceremony and valediction. It may not have been so difficult for Hamilton to do this, as it might have been for others; for Washington's materials were not irregular to the eye or the mind of Hamilton. They were all incorporated in his own mind in their just order and bearing; and his work was to exhibit their order, rather than to form it. But it is his great praise that he did it with simplicity, fidelity, and affection; and it will be no deduction from the praise of

Washington, if the memory of Hamilton shall live forever in the work.

But we have had in view another object. In the progress of this question about the authorship of the Farewell Address, it has been thought useful by Mr. Sparks to suggest, that as a mere literary performance, though able and excellent, it is neither extraordinary, nor such as if disconnected from the name of Washington, would have excited much curiosity about the author, nor in any degree superior to many other papers known to be written by each of the persons named.

There would be some difficulty, perhaps, in proving the postulate that is implied in this last comparison. No writings so known have been vouched to its aid. From the positive part of the averment, I hope it is not presumption to express my dissent. If state papers, or great public papers like this, are to be classed among works of literature at all, and doubtless they sometimes may be, they must be subject to those laws of taste which particularly respect the end or object to be attained, in connection with a rather didactic manner of attaining it. There is necessarily some compression in this method ; and making due allowance for this, or rather looking at the whole work of the Farewell Address in this direction, the general judgment of men has, in this dissent, probably concurred. Its simplicity, its purity, its grouping, its light and shade, the elevation of its tone, and its perfect transparency of meaning, make it a work of extraordinary literary merit in the order or class to which it belongs. We are not to compare it with papers, where the fields of imagination and of illustrative fact have been wide open to the writer, and embellishments from every quarter,

moral and classical, have been within his reach. The path of the Farewell Address was almost severely straight, and the deviations by Hamilton to give it flexure, without too wide a departure, have been managed with great skill. Perhaps this impression of the paper is partly the effect of early association, having read it as a college senior with infinite delight, within a week probably after its first publication; and perhaps also it is as much a moral as a literary judgment, for it is a paper of infinite discretion, as well as of great political wisdom, which I admit it owes as much to Washington as to Hamilton, though perhaps as to perfect discretion, not primarily. But regarding it only as a work of composition, the general opinion both of educated men and of statesmen seems to be, that it is not only very able, but that in the category of state papers it ought to be regarded as classical. Such a paper would have caused a most reasonable curiosity to know the author, if it had been written suppositiously, and would have made the fortune of the writer if he had been discovered.

But the paper is not seen in its greatest magnitude, when regarded merely as a literary performance. It rises to an elevation higher than most kinds of literature, in commanding a view of the relations of all the parts of this country to each other, and of the whole to foreign nations, and in carrying the eye to the distant future, as the witness and proof of its counsels and admonitions. In this aspect, it is both a platform and a prophecy, a rule for administration, and a warning to the whole country; and it owes this extensively to Hamilton, though primarily and fundamentally to Washington. Its large and pointed references to the spirit of party, and especially in the sectional or State relation, seem

to have been written with a special apprehension of what is now unfolding before us, though it must be admitted that there is one present and most dangerous aspect of that spirit, which the universal love of freedom then prevalent in the country, kept back from the contemplation of either Washington or Hamilton, as it did from that of the citizens of the United States generally, until many years afterwards.

There is one point of great political concernment which, at least in appearance, is passed over by both Washington and Hamilton,—the point of that drying and wilting interpretation of the Constitution, which has assumed the name of STATE RIGHTS,—that portion of the doctrine, I mean, which requires *express* words in the Constitution, or *necessary* implication, to carry power to the Government of the United States—the same jealous disposition in those who favor that rule of construction, which kept us out of a Federal Constitution for five years after the public enemy had left us free to make one,* and seems to be exhausting by desiccation, legislative and judicial, the best blood the Constitution possesses, and which, as the Constitution of a Public State and United Nation, it ought to possess, for the nourishment of its powers of internal government,—a doctrine by which no one of the States has gained anything, nor can gain anything that will not be counterpoised by the gain of

* For a clear and very interesting account of the struggle between State Rights and a comprehensive and effective Union, I refer to "The History of the Republic of the United States of America, as traced in the writings of Alexander Hamilton and his Cotemporaries, by John C. Hamilton,"—a noble and fearless tribute of filial reverence, in the form of authentic history, to a most able, frank, honest, and honorable man, and one of the great men of his AGE, and of the WORLD.

other States, and by which the true Federal strength of all the States is, and ever must be, seriously impaired.

The Farewell Address does not notice the point explicitly ; but it is there nevertheless. It must be recollected that this kind of interpretation was the occasion of sharp controversy in Washington's first cabinet, and that the views of Hamilton in regard to it, in opposition to Jefferson and the Attorney-General, Randolph, obtained Washington's sanction, after long and deliberate consideration ; and as Washington was aware that Hamilton had been represented as being desirous in the Convention to bring on a consolidation of the States, though with no justice whatever, and most certainly with less justice than Madison might have been, he probably deemed it best to take no explicit notice of the point in his Farewell Address, and Hamilton, as his representative, only glanced at it, by referring to the debility of the Government, of which he probably regarded this jealous interpretation as one of the principal promoters. Yet there is one clause in the Address which we may infer from strong evidence was introduced by Washington himself, that may have been intended to cover this ground, and was substituted by him for a clause in Hamilton's original draught, a little altered in Hamilton's *revision*. The three clauses will be cited presently.

Having now exhibited the direct proofs which bear upon the formation of the Farewell Address, I proceed to notice a great and perhaps conclusive indirect proof, which by a remarkable oversight, has been for some years thought by many persons to show, that the labor of bringing this great paper into the world, was the travail of Washington alone, who has proved his own composition of it by manifold marks

in the autograph copy, which was handed to the printer, by whom it was published in September, 1796. It is a copy of this document, with its erasures or cancellations restored and placed at foot, first printed under the direction of Mr. Lenox, the proprietor, for private distribution, and recently published in the Appendix to the fifth volume of Mr. Irving's *Life of Washington*, which enables me to bring together in this place a notice of the alterations on the face of the autograph copy, and of some of the opinions which have been expressed upon the question of authorship, in the belief that they are corroborated by those alterations.

Mr. Sparks's remark in view of these alterations, is, I submit, a misapprehension. After making a general statement of facts in regard to the preparation of the Address by Washington, and to Hamilton's agency in correcting and improving it, a statement which he believed to include all that was known with certainty upon the subject, Mr. Sparks proceeds to say: "It proves that an original draught was sent by Washington to Hamilton; that the latter bestowed great pains in correcting and improving it; that during this process several communications passed between them; and that the final draught was printed from a copy," by which I understand him to mean a copy of Washington's draught so corrected, "containing numerous alterations in matter and style, which were unquestionably made by Washington." *Washington's Writings*, vol. xii, p. 396.

Mr. Sparks does not appear to have seen Hamilton's original draught, or Hamilton's correction and revision of that draught, nor to have become aware of them, before he wrote this paragraph, or before he completed the paper in his Appendix, upon Washington's Farewell Address. I

should infer, also, that at that time he had not seen the whole correspondence between Washington and Hamilton on that subject; though he certainly had access to General Hamilton's letters, which were among Washington's papers. He appears to have had no knowledge of any draught by Hamilton, or of anything from Hamilton, but his corrections and improvements of Washington's draught, the specific character of which draught he had previously remarked, there were no means of ascertaining. It is due to him to state these circumstances; because independently of them, it will be found impossible to comprehend the process by which he arrived at the conclusion, that the numerous alterations in matter and style of that copy from which the Address was printed, "were unquestionably made by Washington;" unless he used this language with a meaning which few readers would apprehend from it.

It has been made perfectly clear already, that the autograph copy of the Farewell Address was not made from a copy of Washington's draught corrected and improved. The letter of 25th August, 1796, from Washington to Hamilton, proves that Washington selected Hamilton's draught in preference to his own, whether in the original or in the corrected form; and it will be made equally clear, that the alterations made by the autograph copy, of the anterior draught from which it was taken, are not "numerous alterations in matter or style" by Washington, in the ordinary sense of these words, but are, to nearly the whole extent of the change, a mere abridgment, by cancellation of certain paragraphs of Hamilton's exemplar, from which the autograph copy was made. The judgment of Mr. Sparks was founded, no doubt, upon a state of the facts as they were

then apparent to him, but most materially different from the real state of them, as they now appear.

Other persons, as well as Mr. Sparks, have made their suggestions in regard to the inferences which should be made from these alterations in the autograph copy, now that the cancelled passages have been restored and printed at the foot of the page; and I shall advert to one of those suggestions presently, in connection with an important reference to Mr. Jay's opinion expressed to Judge Peters.

It cannot admit of doubt, that when Washington proceeded to make that autograph copy, which was published in the gazette, and recorded in the Department of State, he had before him a draught of the Address, already prepared by *somebody*. The autograph paper was not a *first* draught—such a suggestion would not have a shadow of support. It has been shown that there was a previous paper, with which it corresponds marvellously in almost infinite points. But what would be decisive, if nothing of the kind had been shown, there are marks of finish, and some elaboration, in the whole order and arrangement, and in entire pages of the autograph copy,—in one place four in number, full and closely printed pages,—where there does not appear to have been the second touch of a pen, nor an erasure or cancellation of any kind, by Washington or by anybody. Besides, there are many long clauses, now appearing at the foot of the pages, which, after being introduced by Washington into the body of the copy, have been cancelled by him, without having been changed, in the course of writing, by the obliteration or interlineation of a word. The autograph has several verbal alterations in other parts, such as a writer might make in revising his own work, or the work of another

man; but in these important parts there is nothing of this kind; and this is practically an infallible proof that the autograph is so far the copy of a previous draught. That it was so throughout, before Washington began to revise and alter it, will be made extremely probable, if not perfectly clear. The first inquiry is, whose and what was that previous draught?

It may be recollected that Hamilton sent his *revision* of the amended original draught in a rough state to Washington, on the 6th September, 1796. It was received, probably, the next day, and the autograph was signed and dated the 17th of September, nine or ten days afterwards. It may also be recollected that Washington intended to have it copied, or at least prepared for being copied, *for the press*, immediately.

Now, the draught that was before Washington when he made his autograph copy, was *not* Hamilton's *original draught*. That *original* draught, probably, never left Hamilton's possession during his life. Though Hamilton's original draught was the basis of the paper which he transcribed and sent to Washington, and is also the basis of the autograph copy, the alteration of words in many places, quite frequently throughout the work—the change of paragraphs by consolidation and division—the occasional introduction of a new thought, and a new line or two, in pages of the autograph copy where there is not an interlineation or erasure by Washington, show that the copy from which Washington was writing, was a different paper. Whoever compares the autograph copy with the *original* draught of Hamilton, will be convinced of this.

The presumption naturally arises,—and I state it at this

time only as a presumption,—that the draught from which Washington made his autograph copy, was Hamilton's *revision*. Setting aside for the moment Washington's own alteration of words, in the autograph, which speak pretty clearly for themselves, it was just such a draught as we might expect Hamilton's revision to be.

The original draught, it may be recollected, bears an indorsement, in Hamilton's handwriting, that it had been "considerably amended." Words are changed, in the manner that is shown in the two parallel columns on page 93 of this essay, of a long clause, taken literally from Hamilton's original draught, and the corresponding clause taken from Washington's autograph copy, upon which the cancelling or altering pen of Washington has not, according to Mr. Irving's reprint, fallen in a single instance from beginning to end. There are, perhaps, twenty verbal differences between the two clauses, such as a very critical writer might make in an amendment and revision of his own composition; but Washington does not appear to have made a single one, by change or obliteration in the autograph copy; and probably no other man than the author would have thought it a needful improvement to make more than a very few of them.

In other instances, the order of a sentence or phrase is improved,—a clause is added upon "education,"—and two or three paragraphs, which are in the original draught of Hamilton, are left out altogether, and not noticed in any way in the autograph copy. This is strong presumptive proof that it was Hamilton who left them out of his amended copy.

Nearly a dozen paragraphs in the autograph were copied

and then cancelled by Washington, and are now seen restored at the foot of the pages in the printed copy of the autograph. Some of these are, probably, the paragraphs which Washington, in his letter of 25th August, told Hamilton that he *should* expunge. "I *shall* expunge,"—not that he *had* expunged them,—as being "*unimportant*," &c. &c. One of them is a long paragraph, *so* marked in the printed copy of the autograph. Hamilton had retouched them all in his corrected and amended copy, or in his *revision* of the original draught, just as he had retouched other paragraphs of that draught, and had left Washington to expunge them, if he should see fit; but Washington had not touched a word before expunging them, but in two instances, to be noticed hereafter. It looks as if Washington had subsequently intended to retain them, but had afterwards cancelled them, in conformity with his first intention.

All the appearances in the autograph—and some of them will be further corroborated—show that it was Hamilton's *revision* of his amended copy of the original draught that Washington first copied *in extenso*, and then proceeded to alter and to cancel. This, I repeat, is only presumption. The main question will not be disturbed by its not being well founded; though, if it be well founded, it becomes demonstrative of the whole question.

The gentleman who is the present proprietor of the autograph, and whose remarks upon it are printed as a preface to the copy in Mr. Irving's work, after seeing the original draught of Hamilton, and reading certain letters between Washington and Hamilton, in the possession of Mr. John C. Hamilton, has expressed, with caution and modesty, the following opinion: "It seems probable that this"—namely,

the autograph copy of Washington—"is the very draught sent to General Hamilton and Chief Justice Jay, as related in the letter of the latter." And again: "It appears from these communications,"—the letters between Washington and Hamilton,—"that the President, both in sending to him a rough draught of the document, and at subsequent dates, requested him to prepare such an address as he thought would be appropriate to the occasion; that Washington consulted him particularly and most minutely on many points connected with it; and that, at different times, General Hamilton did forward to the President three draughts of such a paper. The first was sent back to him, with suggestions for its correction and enlargement; from the second draught, thus altered and improved, the manuscript now printed may be supposed to have been prepared by Washington, and transmitted for final examination to General Hamilton and Judge Jay; and with it the third draught was sent to the President, and may, probably, yet be found among his papers."—The concluding remark of this gentleman is all that we shall further extract: "The comparison of these two papers"—Hamilton's original draught, which the writer speaks of as "probably the second of these draughts," compared with Washington's autograph—"is exceedingly curious. It is difficult to conceive how two persons could express the same ideas, in substantially the same language, and yet in such diversity in the construction of the sentences and the position of the words."

I entirely agree with this gentleman in a part of these remarks. It has been shown to be my supposition, that the autograph copy of Washington was prepared from the

amended or corrected copy of Hamilton's original draught, altered and improved by his second, which I have called his *revision*. The differences between the original draught and Washington's autograph copy—noticed in this gentleman's closing remark just quoted—are easily explained, upon the theory that Washington adopted Hamilton's *revision*, and not Hamilton's original draught, as the exemplar of the autograph copy.

But I am compelled to express my dissent from the other remarks and suggestions of the proprietor of the autograph. The material fact, as he states it, is, in my opinion, rightly stated; but the history of Hamilton's agency, and the transmission of the autograph copy to Hamilton and Jay, or of any copy of the Farewell Address prepared by Washington, after Hamilton's amended and revised copy had been sent to him, are matters which I think this gentleman would have regarded differently, if he had had all the letters and papers in his own hands, for deliberate consideration and comparison. It is a patient and minute review of the whole of them, side by side, including Mr. Jay's letter to Judge Peters, that has obliged me to adopt the opinion, that the supposed transmission is not only negatived by the correspondence, but that it disregards the dates of the letters, the course of the transaction as it is shown by the letters, and, most of all, the statement of Mr. Jay himself.

The first draught sent by Hamilton to Washington was not sent back to Hamilton, "with suggestions for *its correction and enlargement*." Washington's letters of the 10th and 25th of August are decisive to the contrary. Instead of suggesting *enlargement* of that draught, the letter of the 10th August was only apprehensive of its being too large as

it was; and instead of suggesting *correction*,—though the paper was sent back, at Hamilton's request, for revision,—the letter of 25th August says that Washington "should have seen no occasion himself for its undergoing a re-vision." It says that he should expunge all that was marked in the paper as unimportant, &c., and called attention to some marginal notes with a pencil, to obtain Hamilton's mature consideration of the sentiments referred to. With these very limited qualifications, the letter was a full adoption of Hamilton's draught in all points.

It is also a misapprehension to suppose that Hamilton's "second draught," from which "the manuscript now printed may be supposed to have been prepared by Washington," was "transmitted for final examination to General Hamilton and Jay."

There was no such transmission. The letters and dates are plainly to the contrary. Time alone considered, there was not sufficient time. The draught was sent back to Washington, with a letter from Hamilton dated the 6th of September, and the Farewell Address was copied with Washington's own pen, and was signed and dated for the gazette and for recording in the Department of State, the 17th of September, 1796.

It must be recollected, that fifteen years after Mr. Jay had been consulted about the corrections and emendations of "the President's draught," and the only time, so far as his letter imports, that he ever was consulted in regard to any draught of the Farewell Address, he speaks in his letter of its having been *some time* before the Address appeared; and we know that the Farewell Address appeared on the 19th September, 1796, in a public gazette of Philadelphia. The interval had

impressed Mr. Jay's memory. It was long enough to have made an impression which had lasted nearly fifteen years. It is not conceivable that any interval whatever would have been impressed as a distinct fact upon Mr. Jay's memory, between the time of conference upon an autograph paper, the exemplar of which was received by Washington on the 7th of September at the earliest, copied with his own pen after that, and then transmitted to Hamilton and Jay, reviewed, corrected, and amended by Hamilton, a day fixed for an interview with Jay to consult about it, and that subsequent day given to the reading and approval of the emendations, and after that review returned to Washington and more fully corrected by him, before the 17th September. Steam speed is not equal to this. I say nothing of Mr. Jay's omitting to write a word of its being an autograph of Washington, which he would have known and noticed as soon as any one, nor of Hamilton's saying in the interview, that he had thought it "best to write the whole over with amendments," &c. We cannot under such suggestions abandon Hamilton's letter of 10th August.

But further: from the 6th of September, there was no letter from Washington to Hamilton, but one of the same date, which requested Hamilton to send the paper by Mr. Kip, if not sent before, until the 2d November, six weeks after the Farewell Address had been printed.* Mr. Jay's

* It is in this letter of 2d November, 1796, from Washington to Hamilton, a letter of three pages, referring to the case of the minister of France, Adet, and asking Hamilton's opinion on the course the Government should take in regard to him, that Washington thus speaks of his unrestrained confidence and freedom of correspondence with Hamilton: "As I have a very high opinion of Mr. Jay's judgment, candor, honor, and discretion (though I am not in the habit of writing so freely to him as to you), it would

privity with the subject began and ended in the one interview, of which the result was sent to Washington on the 10th August. The supposition that the autograph ever came back to Hamilton, either individually or for joint consultation and alteration by Hamilton and Jay, is therefore not only without authority from the correspondence, but is in direct opposition to it, as well as to Mr. Jay's letter to Judge Peters.

But the decisive consideration against the transmission of an autograph copy, or any other prepared copy, of the Farewell Address to Hamilton and Jay for correction, and the return of such copy corrected for the final Farewell Address, is this. There was but one interview between Jay and Hamilton on this subject—one interview, after the time for it was previously arranged between them. Mr. Jay's letter to Judge Peters mentions that, and no other, interview. The proceedings at that interview are detailed by Mr. Jay with great distinctness, both what was said and what was done. The result of the interview is given with equal distinctness: it was the reading and approving of a paper containing amendments of "the President's draught," as Mr. Jay calls it, of which the original was left fair; and the amendments were so made, or arranged, that Washington would perceive by inspection where they would find their proper places in that draught. Now, let it be remarked, such a correction of Washington's draught existed in ori-

"be very pleasing to me, if you would show him this letter (although it is a hurried "one, my time having been much occupied since my arrival by the heads of departments, and with the papers which have been laid before me), and let me have for "consideration your joint opinions on the several matters herein stated."—*Hamilton's Works*, vol. vi, p. 159.

ginal at Washington's death, and was found among Washington's papers. It is the same which Hamilton returned to Washington, on the 10th August, 1796. A copy of it is in the possession of Mr. Sparks. I have seen and read a copy of Mr. Sparks's copy.* It is sufficient to say, that it

* A few days after this essay was put to press, and a part of it printed, I was favored by Mr. John C. Hamilton with a copy of the paper containing Hamilton's corrections of Washington's draught, received by him from Mr. Sparks; the paper alluded to in Hamilton's letter to Washington, dated 10th August, 1796. It is a paper of thirteen manuscript pages, foolscap, sparsely written on one side of each leaf; and, except on the first page, written in two columns. The beginning of it is obviously intended to be a substitute for the beginning of Washington's original draught of an Address, and modifies it to some extent. After completing the correction of this part, there follows, in the right hand column of the second page, this line, as the beginning of a new paragraph: "The period, &c. (take in the whole Address.)" The words "The period," are the initial words of Mr. Madison's draught. See Washington's Works, vol. xii, page 387. The words of the line between parentheses, are therefore a direction to go on with the whole of Mr. Madison's draught.

The copy then proceeds, in the subsequent pages, to arrange, modify, and add to the thoughts expressed in the paper entitled by Mr. Sparks, "Hints, or Heads of Topics," beginning with the following paragraph, written by Hamilton: "Had not particular occurrences intervened to exhibit our political situation, in some respects, under new attitudes, I should have thought it unnecessary to add anything to what precedes," &c. This supplies the first sentence of the "Hints, or Heads of Topics," which is as follows: "Had the situation of our public affairs continued to wear the same aspect they assumed at the time the foregoing Address was drawn, I should not have taken the liberty of troubling you, my fellow-citizens, with any new sentiment," &c.; and, after this first paragraph closes, there is an asterisk, directing the reader to the top of the adjacent column, on the left hand side, where Hamilton immediately introduces the subject of the Union, (the last but one of Washington's wishes or vows in the "Heads, or Hints of Topics,") in these words: "Let me, then, conjure you, fellow-citizens, still more earnestly than I have done, to hold fast to that *Union* which constitutes you one people;" and he goes on through the following pages to page 8 of the manuscript, with an orderly notice of other parts of the "Hints, or Heads of Topics," very much after the manner of his original draught, introducing on page 8, opposite to a paragraph in regard to the spirit of party, the following line, written lengthwise on the right hand margin: "This is not in the first—may be interwoven;" *the first* referring, no doubt, to Hamilton's original and amended draught, already sent on. And then the paper proceeds to the

is a correction or emendation of Washington's original or preparatory draught, and no more; and in plan, and con-

end of the amendments and of the paper itself in the same manner, closing with these words: "The nation which indulges against another habitual hatred, or for another habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is," &c. Immediately below which is this direction: "To the end, as in the former." At the top of the left hand column of this last page (13), and opposite to the concluding paragraph, of which I have given the closing lines, are these words: "Varied from the first I sent, and I think for the better. If the first be preserved (? preferred), 'tis easy to incorporate this."

By recurring to Hamilton's original draught, in his Works, vol. vii, page 589, it will readily be perceived, that the direction "to the end, as in the former," refers to the middle of the second paragraph on that page, where these words occur: "That nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. . . It is a slave to its animosity," &c. Hamilton's direction, therefore, is to go on to the end of that paragraph, in the copy of his original and amended draught, sent on the 30th July; perhaps, also, to the end of Washington's *Conclusion*.

There is no further clause or direction on my copy of the paper, nor was there, I presume, on the original. We may suppose, therefore, perhaps, that the corrections, having supplied the place of Mr. Sparks's "Hints, or Heads of Topics," Washington's *Conclusion*, as I have called it, was to be followed to the end, after the paragraph referred to in his own draught first sent.

This character of the paper I possess, which I think is here accurately described, though it substantially accords with Mr. Jay's account of it, makes it difficult to believe that at least parts of the "President's draught" were not read at that interview from the very paper itself; for in the copy there are but two words written of Mr. Madison's draught, nor yet any part of Washington's *Conclusion*. There is not even an express direction at the end, to include that Conclusion. But as the subjects contained in the "Hints, or Heads of Topics" had been corrected and amended by Hamilton, as far as he intended, and as his own correcting paper did not supply any conclusion at all, the former direction to go on "to the end, as in the former," may have comprehended the Conclusion of Washington's paper, as well as the remainder of the paragraph in his draught first sent.

It would seem to follow, that the lapse of time had in some degree impaired Mr. Jay's recollections of the interview. Parts of Washington's draught must have been read from the paper. Neither Madison's draught nor Washington's Conclusion appears in my copy. The paper, moreover, is not a *transcript*, as Mr. Sparks calls it, but Washington's paper "corrected upon the general plan of it," as Hamilton's letter of 25th June said it would be, with marks and references to show how the corrections or amendments should be incorporated.

spicuously in extent or volume, is a totally different paper from the Farewell Address, from Hamilton's original draught, and from Washington's autograph copy, in either stage of it, with or without the cancelled passages. But it is certain, at the same time, that Hamilton's corrections, in several particulars, followed the sentiments and language of his original draught, with or without such variations as he introduced into his amended copy, which he sent to Washington on the 30th July, 1796,—the corrections of Washington's draught having been begun and being under way before he sent his amended copy to Washington.

It follows necessarily, from these premises, that the autograph copy was not sent to Hamilton and Jay, and that they had no interview to correct it, and that they did not correct it; and, if we may imply a negative from the full affirmative evidence we possess, that neither Jay nor Hamilton ever saw it. The paper which was read and approved in that interview, and sent back, was Washington's original draught, and not Hamilton's original draught, nor Hamilton's *revision* of that draught, nor Washington's autograph copy of the Farewell Address, nor anything else but Washington's original or preparatory draught amended, the same which was sent to Washington on the 10th of August. The paper thus sent to Washington was not the subject of a single remark by him afterwards, except in his letter of 25th August, when he inclosed to Hamilton, at his own request, the amended copy of Hamilton's original draught, and said, "I have given the paper herewith inclosed several serious "and attentive readings, and prefer it greatly to the other " *draughts*,"—which other draughts were two only, Washington's original or preparatory draught, "left. fair," as Mr.

Jay says, and the emendations of it by Hamilton, which had been read by Hamilton to Jay. The supposition, therefore, that Hamilton and Jay, or Hamilton with Jay's assistance, made, by amendment or otherwise, a *third* draught, after Washington had sent forward his autograph copy, or a prepared copy, of the Farewell Address, for correction, confounds both dates and facts, and puts all the letters of Washington and Hamilton, and Mr. Jay's letter to Judge Peters, just as much as the others, completely out of joint. Of course, a hasty or current perusal of Hamilton's letters and original draught might have led to the same impression in anybody, which the Preface to the copy of the autograph in Mr. Irving's work expresses; but the possession of those letters for the requisite time in my hands, has enabled me to look with great care into the whole series, and to get, I think, the true bearing of all.

It may be very safely predicted that such a *third* draught as the Preface in Mr. Irving's Appendix postulates, will never be found, since no one of the letters I have referred to, recognizes it as having existed, and, on the contrary, the very connected story they tell implies, necessarily, that it never did exist. That Hamilton's *revision*, from which I have supposed that Washington copied his autograph *in extenso* in the first instance, before he altered any part of it,—the same which the Preface in Mr. Irving's Appendix calls Hamilton's *second draught*,—will never be found, is another matter. There can be no doubt that Washington, according to his uniform habit, of which the traces are strong in regard to the papers concerning the Farewell Address, did preserve it up to the time of his death. In all probability, it will not be found, if there has been anything illicit in its disap-

pearance. If it shall be found, it will supersede this conjecture as to the immediate exemplar of the autograph copy; but there is quite enough in the original draught of Hamilton, compared with the autograph copy, to convert all the conjectures, which the recovery of that *revision* would supersede, into most reasonable certainty at the present time.

I assume, therefore, as reasonably well proved, that Washington wrote that autograph copy from the *revision* by Hamilton of his original draught, amended or corrected, which was sent to Washington on the 6th of September; and that Washington copied the whole of that revision *in extenso*, as it was obviously his intention to do, when he wrote his letter to Hamilton of the 25th of August; and that *afterwards* he cancelled and altered, as the cancelled passages and altered words, now restored by Mr. Lenox, or by his direction, will show. This, I repeat, is mere hypothesis; but the appearances will be found to sustain it strongly; and if they do not, the main question will stand as it did before the suggestion was made.

There are one or two facts or appearances noticed by the proprietor of the autograph copy, which seem to cross this theory of a complete transfer of the revision into that copy in the first instance, before parts were cancelled. But, perhaps, for want of access to the original of the printed copy, they do not appear to me to be decisive; and there are also several facts or appearances which seem to be irreconcilable with any other hypothesis, or with the actual condition of the autograph copy, as the printed copy from it shows it to be. I will consider the appearances or facts of each description.

There is nothing decisive in the fact which is noticed by the proprietor of the autograph copy, that some of "*the alterations were evidently made during the writing of the paper,*" as "in these instances, a part and even the whole of a sentence is struck out, which afterwards occurs in the body of the Address."

These changes are certainly few and partial, and they may have been made in the course of the writing, without conducting materially to the proof that this was generally the case with the other alterations.

The only instances of this nature which I have discovered, though there may be others, are two, one on page 359 in Mr. Irving's Appendix, and the other on page 360. The last will be noticed in another place. On page 359, two lines are transferred from an earlier part of a sentence to the end of a paragraph, which is the end of the same sentence. It would probably require close inspection of the autograph to determine that this change had been made "*during the writing of the paper,*" and not afterwards. I do not mean to question the fact, for I have not examined the autograph in reference to this point; but little if any more space would have been necessary for the insertion of the two lines cancelled, than is commonly left between paragraphs.

But supposing that in this, and in the other instance to be noticed presently, Washington did transpose parts of a paragraph "*in the course of writing,*" and even cancel a short paragraph, and write another leaving out a line or two of the first, there is strong countervailing evidence against this as being the general course.

There are ten clauses in small type at the foot of the pages in Mr. Irving's Appendix which, by the Preface, are indi-

cated as having been "struck out," I presume *cancelled*, in the body of the autograph, and now restored by careful examination, and placed at the bottom of the respective pages.

One of these clauses on pages 362, 363, contains nineteen lines and a fraction in the small type. Another of them on pages 366, 367, contains nearly fifteen lines. A third on page 363, contains nearly eleven lines; and the aggregate of all the lines of the clauses referred to as having been so struck out, and now restored and placed at foot, is a large fraction of a line more than sixty lines. All these lines were written in the body of the autograph, and then struck out or cancelled. If they had been printed in the Appendix in the same type with the body of the Address, they would have filled three full pages of it, or nearly one-fifth of the whole Address, as it now stands in Mr. Irving's Appendix. Of course, I do not mean to be understood as speaking with technical accuracy, for I have not asked the opinion of a printer in regard to this fact. It cannot be supposed, I think, that such masses as these were first written, and then cancelled *in the course of the writing*.

There are two other clauses of like description in pages 361, 366, which might be added to the ten, but I distinguish them to make a subsequent remark of my own more intelligible.

The natural and most probable, if not certain course, of Washington, if it is regarded in the light of these clauses, was to write over the whole draught he was copying, including all of the clauses referred to, and then to go back and alter words, or strike out paragraphs, as he should think fit. To write out, and then to cancel, every part of these twelve

paragraphs, "in the course of writing," or "during the writing," is a much less reasonable supposition.

One striking fact in regard to all the clauses at the foot of the pages, is, that but one of them bears a trace of verbal alteration by Washington; which is less than the most facile and felicitous writer must have made in the first draught of such long paragraphs. This only exception is on page 366 of Mr. Irving's Appendix, where *constitution* is substituted for *order*, and *adherents* for *retainers*. There must, I think, have been some intention of Washington to retain these paragraphs at the time these words were changed. The rest must all have been fairly transcribed by Washington into his autograph Address from the exemplar that was before him. It can be shown demonstrably that Washington did not compose any of the ten clauses referred to; and therefore, if the supposition of his having made the cancellation "during the writing," is suggested to give a more usual appearance of authorship in Washington, it is of no avail; for, except in a few of the rather self-justifying thoughts, Washington's authorship is not there, wherever else it may be. It was his further consideration of these thoughts that probably induced him to cancel more than one of these paragraphs; and the rest, only because they added to the length of the Address.

Another fact equally worthy of notice, is, that when the ten clauses first referred to were written and then struck out, nothing was substituted in their place, except in two instances, one on page 369, and the other on page 375. On page 369, a clause which was written on a separate piece of paper, is wafered on or over the passage that had been written in the autograph copy and then cancelled, and is now printed

at foot. That wafered paper bears a clause which Washington, by his letter of September 1st, requested Hamilton to introduce into his *revision* in regard to *education* generally, in connection with the subject of a university particularly; and suggested that a section comprehending both subjects "would come in very properly after the one which relates to our religious obligations; or, in a preceding part, as one of the recommendatory measures to counteract the evils arising from geographical discriminations." Hamilton, in his reply of September 4th, said, that "the idea of the university" would be most properly reserved for Washington's speech at the beginning of the session. "A general suggestion," he said, "respecting education will very fitly come into the Address." He introduced it, no doubt, in his revision, in the very place which Washington first pointed out, "after the clause which relates to our religious obligations;" and there Washington has wafered it over a clause in recommendation of industry and frugality, which had been cancelled by him, and is now found at the foot of the printed page in Mr. Irving's Appendix. As Washington was specially concerned in this education clause, and could not have intended to omit it, the natural explanation of the wafered paper is, that in copying the revision into his autograph, perhaps from the education clause being written in the margin of Hamilton's rough revision, and only referred to by a mark of some kind in the place where it was to go, Washington overlooked the clause in copying, and had left no place in his copy-book for it, except by wafering it over a very good and rather necessary paragraph on the subject of industry and economy.

This little fact is very significant in regard to the manner

of copying the Address. The clause upon education was of great importance in Washington's estimation; so much so, as to have been asked for by a special communication to Hamilton; and it was to be the precursor of a recommendation to Congress at its approaching session, to establish a national university. It must of necessity therefore appear in some proper place in the Address. It could not be omitted. It is not possible that Washington could have had any objection to the paragraph upon the subject of industry and frugality. Habits of this nature were not only of great importance to the people, but they were his own habits, observed by himself with due reference to his own station and fortune, and inculcated upon all his family and dependants. But more than this, it was a paragraph necessary to complete Hamilton's view of the moral virtues to be inculcated, after having given the first place to religion and morality in their more solemn acceptance. His abstract announced "industry" and "economy," along with "religion and morals," as matters upon which the draught was further to dilate; and so he introduced the notice in his original draught, and kept it in the revision. Why was so good a paragraph obliterated, by wafering over it the clause upon education?

There is a little contrivance in some printing offices and factories which consume much water, by which it is shown when the supply pump has filled the cistern. It is a float on the water, and is sometimes called a *telltale*: for when it shows itself above the top of the cistern, it is seen to bear a label in pretty large letters, "Stop the pump." The wafered clause over the paragraph on industry and economy, is a *telltale*. It says that the copy-book was full, and that there was no place to put it in where Washington had suggested it ought

to go, but by wafering it over the not so indispensably necessary clause in regard to industry and economy; and yet this clause was eight pages distant from the close of the Address. This is not demonstration, certainly, that the whole copy was made before the cancellations were begun, but it is an inducement or persuasion to that opinion.

But much better than these remarks to show that Washington did make that autograph copy from the *revision* before he altered it, is the existence of a previous draught which it closely follows in paragraphs, subjects, language, and above all in the order of place or position of every part; which previous draught was amended and revised by its author before the autograph was made, and was so written, at Washington's instance, as to be readily followed in a copy for the press, and which *revision* was in Washington's hands before the autograph was begun, and was intended to *revise* the previous amended draught,—not to alter its substance or order, nor to add to it in any known particular, except that which the wafered paper on education exhibits. More than finite probabilities, as we have suggested, show that the exemplar was in that paper,—the *revision*, and that this was the model from which the autograph was first written *in extenso*, and then altered as far as it was altered. We can, however, confirm and add to these probabilities, by considering the character of Washington's alterations of the autograph copy.

The ten clauses referred to, amounting together to sixty lines and a fraction more, which have been restored since cancellation, and are now placed at the foot of the pages in the Appendix, are one and all of them, in point of origin, derived from Hamilton's *original* draught, each one of them having

been altered verbally, and not otherwise, by Hamilton's amended copy, or revision, as we have a right to infer, because the touch of Washington's pen does not appear upon them, except in the two words on page 366, before referred to. All these clauses, after being carried into the autograph copy, were cancelled in the places where Hamilton's original draught had placed them, the preceding and succeeding paragraphs not being cancelled, but remaining in that autograph copy precisely as they do in Hamilton's draught. It may be said of all the clauses which were cancelled by Washington, that they are not surpassed in truth or pertinency by perhaps any which were not cancelled. Some of them were founded upon express suggestion by Washington in his preparatory draught; and the most probable motive for cancelling any of them,—such of them at least as gave no offence to his modesty,—was to abridge the length of the Address. The cancellation of one of them appears to have been a necessity, through oversight, because his copy-book was already full, and there was no space left for the education clause. He was therefore compelled to wafer it over the clause upon frugality and economy, which Washington would hardly have yielded to anything but to the clause upon which he had specially instructed Hamilton. The cancelled and restored paragraphs, which were derived in point of origin from Hamilton's original draught, may be seen in the reprint of the autograph copy, in the Appendix to this Inquiry, where the margin opposite to each paragraph respectively, refers to the page of Hamilton's original draught in the same Appendix, where the clause of origin will be found inclosed within brackets.

I present in this place, as an illustration, one of the longest

clauses which were so cancelled in the autograph copy, and is now restored, and placed at the foot of the reprint, in Mr. Irving's work, in pages 362, 363, together with the corresponding clause in Hamilton's original draught.

RESTORED PARAGRAPH FROM
AUTOGRAPH COPY.

Besides the more serious causes already hinted as threatening our Union, there is one less dangerous, but sufficiently dangerous to make it prudent to be upon our guard against it. I allude to the petulance of party differences of opinion. It is not uncommon to hear the irritations which these excite vent themselves in declarations that the different parts of the United States are ill-affected to each other, in menaces that the Union will be dissolved by this or that measure. Intimations like these are as indiscreet as they are intemperate. Though frequently made with levity, and without any really evil intention, they have a tendency to produce the consequences which they indicate. They teach the minds of men to consider the Union as precarious;—as an object to which they ought not to attach their hopes and fortunes;—and thus chill the sentiment in its favor. By alarming the pride of those to whom they are addressed, they set ingenuity at work to depreciate the value of the thing, and to discover reasons of indifference towards it. This is not wise. It will be much wiser to habituate ourselves to reverence the Union as the palladium of our national happiness; to accommodate our

HAMILTON'S ORIGINAL
DRAUGHT.

Besides the more serious causes which have been hinted at, as endangering our Union, there is another less dangerous, but against which it is necessary to be on our guard: I mean the petulance of party differences of opinion. It is not uncommon to hear the irritations which these excite vent themselves in declarations that the different parts of the Union are ill-assorted, and cannot remain together—in menaces from the inhabitants of one part to those of another, that it will be dissolved by this or that measure. Intimations of the kind are as indiscreet as they are intemperate. Though frequently made with levity, and without being in earnest, they have a tendency to produce the consequence which they indicate. They teach the minds of men to consider the Union as precarious, as an object to which they are not to attach their hopes and fortunes, and thus weaken the sentiment in its favor. By rousing the resentment, and alarming the pride of those to whom they are addressed, they set ingenuity to work to depreciate the value of the object, and to discover motives of indifference to it. This is not wise. Prudence demands that we should habituate ourselves in all our

words and actions to that idea, and to discountenance whatever may suggest a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned.—*Irving's Washington*, vol. v, p. 362.

words and actions to reverence the Union as a sacred and inviolable palladium of our happiness; and should discountenance whatever can lead to a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned.—*Hamilton's Works*, vol. vii, p. 581.

These altogether verbal differences are such as a writer might make in his own composition when amending or revising it; and the greater part of them at least are such as no one but the author would think of. If this paragraph has been accurately restored at the foot of the reprint of the autograph copy in Mr. Irving's Appendix, Washington's pen has not altered a word of it before he cancelled it.

I might add to the ten clauses referred to, another clause, the last which Washington cancelled, and which has been restored and placed at the foot of pages 376, 377. It stood the last in the Farewell Address until it was cancelled, and was the very last in Hamilton's original draught; but Washington prepared the last clause now standing in the Farewell Address, from the first cancelled clause from Hamilton's revision, which may be found at the foot of page 357 of Mr. Irving's Appendix.

The two other clauses which I distinguished from the ten, to make my remark concerning them more intelligible, are to be found, the first of them at the foot of page 360. That clause which, for the reasons already given, I infer to have been taken from Hamilton's revision, is not merely a verbal alteration of the corresponding clause in Hamilton's original draught, but is a reconstruction of a clause of that draught, in the same relative place, first commenced by Hamilton in his amended copy sent to Washington the 30th July, placed

probably in the same state in his correction of Washington's draught sent to him the 10th August, and further enlarged in his revision sent the 6th September. Washington has struck Hamilton's *revised* clause from the end of a paragraph, and has put in its place a clause almost identical with it, omitting but a single line. This is the second of the instances, so far as I have discovered, which bear upon the inquiry suggested by the Preface to the autograph copy in Mr. Irving's work, whether Washington made the alterations in his autograph "during the writing" or after the entire copy was made. To show the extent of the change, the clause in Hamilton's original draught, enlarged in Hamilton's correction of Washington's draught, and still further extended in what I infer to be Hamilton's revision, and the clause as it stands in the Farewell Address, are here presented in parallel columns.

HAMILTON. ORIGINAL DRAUGHT AND CORRECTION OF WASHINGTON'S DRAUGHT.	HAMILTON. REVISION.	WASHINGTON. FAREWELL ADDRESS.
that you would cherish towards it an affectionate and inviolable attachment, and that you should watch for its preservation with zealous solicitude.	that you should cherish towards it a cordial and immovable attachment; that you should accustom yourselves to reverence it as the palladium of your political safety and prosperity, <i>adapting constantly your words and actions to that momentous idea</i> ; that you	that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it, accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as the palladium of your political safety and prosperity * *
[<i>Hamilton's Amended Draught of Washington.</i>]	* * * *	* * * *
that you should habituate yourselves to think and speak of it as the palladium of your prosperity, and	should watch for its preservation with zealous anxiety, discountenance whatever may suggest or	watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety, discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any

should frown upon what-
ever may lead to suspicion
that it can in any event be
abandoned.

suspicion that it can in any
event be abandoned, and
frown upon the first dawn-
ing of any attempt to alien-
ate any portion of our
country from the rest, or
to enfeeble the sacred ties
which now link together
the several parts.

event be abandoned, and
indignantly frowning upon
the first dawning of every
attempt to alienate any
portion of our country from
the rest, or to enfeeble the
sacred ties which now link
together the several parts.

Of course such an alteration as this does not affect the question of authorship, but it affects the secondary question of the time and manner of Washington's alteration. If the right hand paragraph is written in the autograph *after* the middle or cancelled paragraph, and not by *interlineation*, then if no blank space had been left for it, it must have been done when the autograph was in the course of being written, and not after it had been completely copied in the order of the *revision*. If there had been a blank space left, or the new paragraph was *interlined*, then the opposite consequence follows. The Preface says there are many interlineations, but does not indicate them distributively, and does not say whether this was or was not one of them. It is a point of little importance, except in the history of the autograph.

The last of the two clauses I distinguished from the ten, is at page 366; and it is quite an interesting alteration, and must have received much consideration on the part of Washington. We shall insert here, in parallel columns, three clauses: one from Hamilton's original draught as it stands; another, as we infer, from Hamilton's amended copy, or *revision*; and in a third column, from Washington's autograph, the passage in the paragraph which Washington inserted after striking out a part of the paragraph contained within brackets in the middle column:—

HAMILTON.	HAMILTON.	WASHINGTON.
ORIGINAL DRAUGHT.	AMENDED AND REVISED.	AUTOGRAPH.
<p>And remember also, that for the efficacious management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much force and strength as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and arranged, its surest guardian and protector.—[In my opinion, the real danger in our system is, that the general government, organized as at present, will prove too weak rather than too powerful.]—<i>Hamilton's Works</i>, vol. vii, p. 584.</p>	<p>And remember especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. [Owing to you as I do a frank and free disclosure of my heart, I shall not conceal from you the belief I entertain, that your government, as at present constituted, is far more likely to prove too feeble than too powerful.]—5 <i>Irving's Washington</i>, 366.</p>	<p>And remember especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. [It is indeed little less than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.]—<i>Ibid.</i></p>

Washington's own clause within brackets in the right hand column, has perhaps some advantages in point of expression over both the others. It implies the same truth which the others strongly express; and in its terms, as a conclusion from the premises just before stated, it is an equally explicit truth; while it keeps back the declaration of an abstract opinion, which might have been misunderstood by reason of its generality, and extensively perverted by

misapplication. It gives out, at the same time, a definite opinion in favor of a government of more strength, by illustrations which few would refuse to receive as evidences of constitutional weakness, and which was felt in some of the trying periods of Washington's administration.

This is the clause in which, I suppose, Washington meant to express, or at least to include, his dissent from what is now the principle of State rights,—that the only constitutional powers of the United States are such as are expressly given in the Constitution, or are necessarily implied from those which are expressly given; a principle which, in regard to the Constitution of a Nation, the Supreme power of the Union, one of the co-equal powers of the world, would seem to be more reasonably applied to the restraints which are expressed in it, than to the powers themselves. In regard to three great examples under the treaty-making power, the acquisitions of Louisiana and of parts of Mexico, and the boundary treaty with England, the principle of express power, or necessary implication, seems to have had but little play in abridging the fairly implied powers of the Constitution. The main effect of that principle upon internal legislation, seems hitherto to have been felt, and, probably, will always be most sensibly felt, in the generation of parties, which will make a feeble government, whatever the Constitution may have intended. If it succeeds finally and completely, it will look very much like what, in early times, would have been called an anti-Federal triumph after a Federal victory, which the adoption of the Constitution by the States was acknowledged by all parties to have been.

The remaining instances of interposed new paragraphs by Washington call for little remark. The three paragraphs

upon the right, the duty, and the inducements of interest, to issue and maintain the proclamation of neutrality, are, one of them probably, an alteration of Hamilton's revision; and the other two, perhaps, are Washington's, though this is not clear. Neither of the three was in Hamilton's original draught, though a blank space was left in that part, which Hamilton possibly filled up in his amended copy, or in his revision; but, in the autograph, Washington wrote out the first paragraph, and, from a certain point, cancelled it, and interlined several lines. He then wrote, on a separate piece of paper, a paragraph in substitution of the whole,—having, nevertheless, the same substance, and wafered it over both the original and the interlined words,—making a note on the margin in these words: "This is the first draught, and it is questionable which of the two is to be preferred." Of course, this wafering must have occurred after the *entire* address had been copied. If this is written on the margin of the wafered paper, the first draught was probably Hamilton's; but, if it was written on the margin of the copy-book, I am at fault. The other two, which have not been altered in any respect, may have been written by either; but the good old Doric phrase, "humanly speaking," in the last of the three, is more like Washington than Hamilton.

The penultimate clause of the draught before him, which Washington has cancelled, he has excluded as having "the appearance of self-distrust and mere vanity;" as, for a like reason, he had obliterated a preceding one, "to avoid the imputation of affected modesty." Such alterations might be thought to prove that Washington was revising what another had indited, and not what he had composed himself.

But the concluding pages of Washington's own draught, which may be seen in the Appendix, have satisfied me that this is not decisive.

This penultimate clause of the draught, as it has been restored and placed at the foot of the page in Mr. Irving's Appendix, has not been altered in a single word ; but a portion of it has been carried into the last paragraph of Washington's Farewell Address, which was probably written by himself, and is a substitute for the last paragraph in Hamilton's original draught. Hamilton himself, perhaps, threw the two last paragraphs of the original draught into one, of which Washington has taken a part and rejected a part, and, adopting one thought from the rejected part, has made a final paragraph for himself. The concluding part of Washington's own draught supplied a portion of these thoughts. In these minute particulars, the criticisms must be received as conjectural, especially as the original autograph is not now before me.

The alterations in the body of the printed copy of the autograph, not noticed in the preceding remarks, are generally verbal, striking out a word or two, and putting in one or two others. In the twenty-one pages of Mr. Irving's reprint, there are five several pages, in three of which there is no such alteration ; in another of them, three words, and, in the other, two are struck out, and different, but equivalent, words substituted. On the other pages there are more of them, as *the* for *a*, *against* for *from*, *customary* for *usual*, *sparingly* for *little*, *shunning* for *avoiding*, *permanent*, *inveterate* for *rooted*, *an* for *a*, to lessen the aspirate in *habitual*, and others of like kind, not always to the improvement of the language ; and, at least, in one instance, to the

effect of making public opinion *co-operate* in the discharge of public debts, instead of *coinciding* with it, which was Hamilton's word and meaning. The pages untouched by Washington's pen in this manner, I presume to be Hamilton's original draught, corrected, amended, and revised by Hamilton himself. The remaining pages I suppose to be the same *revision*, altered verbally, just as Washington appears to have altered them in his autograph copy, and no further.

If this has not been demonstrated in an absolute sense, the proof falls short of it only by the absence of Hamilton's *revision*,—the original draught, however, so far supplying its place, that no living man, nor all the men upon earth combined, could have written such a paper as Washington's Farewell Address, without the guidance of that original draught, or of a draught made from it, with just such verbal corrections of the original as we know came into Washington's hands before the autograph copy was made. If this is not the highest degree of argumental evidence, it is the next door to it, and is the highest practical proof.

Mr. Sparks's view of these alterations has, no doubt, been affected by his not being aware, at that time, of the existence of Hamilton's original draught, and, in some degree also, by Mr. Jay's opinion of the extent of Hamilton's work in the Farewell Address. But Mr. Jay was under a denser cloud than Mr. Sparks; and the imperfect light that Mr. Jay followed was moreover a deceptive light. So it appears to me; and Mr. Jay has contributed, unintentionally, much more than Mr. Sparks, to turn the eyes of impartial men from the consideration of the evidence, as it has from time to time, subsequently, appeared; though the death of Mr.

Jay, in 1829, before the publication of Hamilton's draught, and Washington's letters to Hamilton, probably prevented its having appeared to him.

It is very singular, that so harmless an inquiry as the question of the authorship of the Farewell Address, which Mr. Jay's letter first noticed in a formal examination in 1811, and which Mr. Sparks considered, upon other grounds, in 1837, the year in which his edition of Washington's Writings was completed, should have been inseparably blended, from the first of these dates,—the purport of Mr. Jay's letter having been known, though not published by his son until 1833,—with considerations that affected the honor of Hamilton on the one side, and the delicacy of Washington on the other;—Hamilton, as having preserved a draught which he ought to have destroyed, and Washington, as having retained the reputation of a *higher finish in this work than in his letters* (this is Mr. Jay's language), although it was not his own. These considerations resulted, directly or reflectively, from Mr. Jay's very strongly expressed opinion that the Farewell Address was a *personal* act, and that Washington *only* could *with propriety* write it. He might, Mr. Jay admits, have naturally submitted his composition to the judgment of friends, before he put the last hand to it. They might have advised certain transpositions; “if the connection between any of the relative parts was obscure, they would make it more apparent; if a conclusion had better be left to implication than expressed, they would strike it out, and so *vice versa*; if an additional remark or allusion would give force or light to a sentiment or proposition, they would propose it; where a sentence was too long, they would divide it; they would

“correct redundancies; change words less apt, for words more apt, &c. &c. &c. To correct a composition in this way, is to do a friendly office; but to prepare a new one, and offer it to the author as a substitute for his own, would deserve a different appellation.” *Jay’s Life*, vol. ii, page 343.

This distinction, in itself a rather shadowy one, was not in Washington’s mind at all. He submitted thoughts and principles as heads or points in the Farewell Address to Mr. Madison, and asked him to write it out from beginning to end; and Mr. Madison did so. He asked Hamilton to correct and amend the preparatory draught, which constituted *the preserved paper*, made partly of Madison’s draught and partly of his own composition, but gave Hamilton plain authority, if he did not by implication invite him, to put the sentiments of the preserved paper into a new plan and in a different form. Washington’s opinion was demonstrably different on this head, from Mr. Jay’s. He asked assistance in what Mr. Jay regarded the exceptionable form, from Mr. Madison, and he opened the door to it widely for Hamilton. He made no secret to one of the two eminent men, that he had asked and obtained it from the other; and he meant by the preserved paper, his preparatory draught, to bring to the knowledge of the world the privy of Madison with a portion of that draught, being quite indifferent to the opinion they might form of the degree to which that privy had extended.

Mr. Jay moreover distinguished between an *official* paper and the Farewell Address; but Washington made no such distinction. Mr. Jay distinguished between cases in which a secretary of the proper department might prepare a paper,

and the President sign it, from cases in which Washington alone should prepare the paper and sign; but Washington did not observe this distinction in regard to executive speeches or messages to Congress,—the most striking of his public papers. He made no secret of asking assistance in his speeches to Congress, and asked it of Madison, who was never in the cabinet until after Washington had retired from office, and of Hamilton, after he had left Washington's cabinet to return to the profession of the law. Mr. Jay's distinction was the formal but perfectly unlimited one, between writing an address, and correcting or amending it after it was written. Washington's better distinction was the substantial one, between contributing the fundamental or leading thoughts of a public paper, which it was essential to him should be his own, and the almost arbitrary forms of expressing them, which he had no hesitation in committing to the skill of a trusted friend. I do not speak of his general practice or habits, but of the distinctions in his mind. In fine, though Mr. Jay was very able to measure Washington in some of his largest dimensions, he does not seem in his letter to Judge Peters to have measured him accurately in the largest of them all,—the dimensions of that extraordinary judgment, which suppressed all personal vanity in himself, if he ever had any, estimated with perfect good sense and wisdom all the real values that were in him or around him, neither being misled nor misleading anybody by pretensions of any kind, and seeking truth and the best forms of communicating it, from the friend who could best impart them to him, for the benefit of the country. He was undoubtedly modest; but it is certain that he never fell short of his duty or the expectations of the country by his modesty; and it is

also certain, that if every line of his pen in his communications to Congress or to the people was traced to some other person, it would not abate his glory, or the honor and love of this people, a single *iota*. If his great modesty has contributed to the lustre of his immense elevation, as it undoubtedly has, it will be difficult to prove that he had too much of it.

All the prejudices which have existed in regard to the authorship of the Farewell Address, seem to have proceeded from jealousy of Hamilton, or from this hypothesis of Mr. Jay; but how entirely Mr. Jay's imperfect information led him into the adoption and statement of it, may easily be made obvious.

Judge Peters's letter had conveyed to Mr. Jay "the first and only information" he had received, "that a copy of President Washington's Address had been found among the papers of General Hamilton, and in his handwriting, and that a *certain* gentleman had also a copy of it in the *same* handwriting." Of course it would be assumed by some persons, that Hamilton had made two copies of the Farewell Address, and had kept one, and given away another, to furnish the future proof of his authorship. It was upon this hint, and possibly, though not certainly, with something like this interpretation of it, that Mr. Jay wrote his reply to Judge Peters, of the 29th March, 1811, which appears in the work of Mr. Jay's son.

Every man of experience must be aware of this truth—and the writer of this Inquiry hopes, that wherever his inferences from evidence may call for its application, he will be regarded as having a full consciousness of it—that if an observer of half a truth proceeds incautiously to infer the

whole truth from it, the half truth is just as likely to lead him wrong as right, and that half a fact is even more so.

We now know that General Hamilton left no *copy* of the Farewell Address in his handwriting, but only his *original rough draught* of such an address, which was found among his papers, and is now in the Department of State; that there was a corrected copy and *revision* of that original draught, also in his handwriting, which he sent to Washington, and which did not come back. In all probability, therefore, it remained among Washington's papers, on the same subject, until his death; and therefore, if any person had in his hands another paper which purported to be a copy of the Farewell Address, and was in Hamilton's handwriting, it was this corrected and revised copy of the original draught.

It must have been obtained consequently from Washington's papers, and from this source only; and those only, who had the custody of Washington's papers at and after the time of his death, can be called upon to explain the circumstance, if it be true.

It is not surprising that the name of the *certain* person who possessed another copy was not disclosed, possibly not by Judge Peters, certainly not by Mr. Jay in his reply; and this gave an air of mystery to the circumstance; and the odium of that mystery, whatever it was, was reflected upon General Hamilton, as is made obvious by Mr. Jay's letter. And it thus happened that, in complete ignorance of every fact in the case, except one, and that a misleading fact, that Hamilton had read to Jay Washington's draught, "written "over with such amendments, alterations, and corrections," as Hamilton thought advisable, Mr. Jay proceeded to make

out what may be called a *record*, for posterity. Unfortunately, it was worse than labor lost, for it was labor unintentionally productive of evil. No man would regret it more than Mr. Jay himself, if he were living.

Mr. Jay, at that time, and, doubtless, to the end of his life, was wholly ignorant of the following most material facts, which have been already exhibited to the reader: 1. That Washington had written a long and explicit letter to Mr. Madison, on the 20th May, 1792, requesting him, at that time, to write a Farewell Address, if he approved the measure, and making large suggestions to him on the subject. 2. That Madison had replied to that letter, on the 20th June, 1792, and sent to Washington a draught, containing those expressions in regard to Washington's "very fallible judgment," and "the inferiority of his qualifications," which strike everybody who reads the Farewell Address, and irresistibly impressed Mr. Jay with the belief, that no man could have written an address which contained those words, except Washington himself. 3. That Washington had applied to Hamilton personally, in the spring of 1796, to "redress" the draught which Washington himself had prepared; and that, on the 15th May of that year, he wrote to Hamilton, sending him the paper, and requesting to correct it, and giving him also authority to write it over anew upon the plan he thought best, founding it upon the sentiments contained in Washington's paper; and that Hamilton had executed the last power referred to, before his interview with Jay,—the execution of that power being a matter which concerned Hamilton alone until Washington should approve it, and which Hamilton thought proper to submit to Washington only. 4. That Hamilton,

before his interview with Jay, had already, on the 30th July, sent to Washington that new form of a Farewell Address; and, in the letter which inclosed it, promised to send him, in a fortnight, Washington's own draught, corrected upon the general plan of it. 5. That the matter upon which he, Mr. Jay, was consulted, on behalf of Washington by Hamilton, was only one of the objects of Washington's letter of the 15th May, this correction of Washington's draught, and did not comprehend the other—the writing it over anew—upon the plan Hamilton should think best.

If Mr. Jay had known these several matters, he would have had an outline of all the heads of material facts up to the time of his interview with Hamilton. But he was not aware of any one of them; nor was it necessary that he should be, to enable him to assist in the correction or amendment of Washington's draught, which was an entirely separate and independent matter. Nevertheless, in this imperfect state of his knowledge or information,—perfect enough for the performance of the office Mr. Jay was asked to perform in Washington's behalf,—but wholly insufficient to enlighten him in regard to Hamilton's draught, or to Washington's previous communications with Madison, Mr. Jay proceeded to express a definite opinion upon the whole matter of the authorship of the Farewell Address. 1. He gave an explicit opinion upon the general proposition, that the Farewell Address was a *personal* act of Washington, and that nobody else could, with propriety, be its author. 2. That it was not likely that Hamilton, or any other person but Washington, was the author, because Washington was perfectly able to write it himself. 3. That if it was “possible to find a man among those whom Washington es-

“teemed, capable of offering him such a present” as an address, which contained what the Farewell Address does contain,—the broadest avowals of his *very fallible judgment*, and the *inferiority* of his qualifications,—“it was impossible “to believe that President Washington was the man to “whom such a present would be acceptable.”

The presumptive internal evidence from the Farewell Address, combined with that of Washington's ability, which Mr. Jay argues at large in his letter, and very well, and the direct evidence arising from that interview with Hamilton, therefore resulted to impress Mr. Jay's mind with the conviction, most necessarily implied by his whole letter, though not, I believe, anywhere in it expressly stated, that Washington was the sole author of the Farewell Address, such corrections or amendments of it only excepted as Hamilton had read in that interview, and some of little importance, which had been made by both the parties in the course of it. But it gives me pleasure to add that, considering the lapse of time between the date of that interview, in 1796, and Mr. Jay's letter, in 1811, there is a very reasonable excuse for Mr. Jay's regarding the corrections and emendations of Washington's draught by Hamilton, as having gone into the published Farewell Address; because almost all the corrections of Washington's draught contain the same thoughts, expressed in nearly the same language, as in Hamilton's original draught, and most probably in the amended copy Hamilton sent to Washington. I am very happy to suppose that these important passages in the published Farewell Address, contributed to recall the corrections or emendations of Washington's draught, which Hamilton had read to him, and to strengthen Mr. Jay's belief that the Farewell Ad-

dress was identically Washington's draught corrected by Hamilton. But in volume as well as plan, the original draught of Hamilton, and the corrected draught of Washington, were entirely unlike; and some long passages which Hamilton may have left in the corrected draught of Washington, are excluded altogether from his own, particularly those on the subject of political calumny and party abuse, which squared better with parts of Washington's plan than they did with his own, and which are therefore excluded from it.

There were few wiser men in this country, and no purer man anywhere, than John Jay. There is a halo round his venerable head, which we recollect, that makes it exceedingly painful to represent him as having erred so capitally in his conclusions, from the partial evidence before him; especially as his professional astuteness, and the wariness of his judgment, in judicial or quasi-judicial cases of importance, was one of his eminent characteristics. Something, perhaps, in Judge Peters's letter to Mr. Jay may have tended to narrow the scope of his inquiry, or a little to surprise his accurate judgment in this matter; but I have looked in vain to the *Life of Mr. Jay* by his son, and elsewhere, for further elucidation of the subject.

It is from this letter, perhaps,—probably from Judge Peters's exhibition of it, or repetition of its contents, at a day several years before the publication of *Mr. Jay's Life* by his son,—that has arisen the uncomfortable feeling I have adverted to, in regard to the authorship of the Farewell Address, and with it the opinion or sentiment of Mr. Sparks, that in some way it concerned the honor of Hamilton, to destroy all traces of his connection with it.

There is not the least evidence in the world that the obliteration of such traces ever entered into the heart or mind of Washington; and no man of understanding who shall carry or trace back such a thought to its root or principle, can fail to perceive that it will infer a weakness in Washington, that is out of keeping with his whole life, and with the explicit language of the Farewell Address itself.

Hamilton appears to have preserved the abstract and original rough draught, because there was no motive to destroy them. He could not have destroyed them with the supposed motive, without feeling his own respect for Washington in some degree impaired by the motive. He kept them, as he kept the original draughts of some of the clauses he had prepared for Washington's speeches, as a record of his own sentiments, and as a part of the transactions of his political life. He kept no copy of his corrections of Washington's draught, nor of the amended copy of his own draught, nor of the revision of that draught, nor of any of his letters to Washington on this subject, nor indeed of anything in regard to it, for the two papers he left behind him were not *copies*, but the rough originals. This was all that Hamilton did. He did not *destroy* them; that is all. Privacy *at the time* was material, as the correspondence shows, because the purpose of Washington to retire, was intended to be held in reserve, for public reasons, until the last moment. Hamilton expressly advised him to this effect. It is from this cause, perhaps, that no more copies were taken. Hamilton's own engagements and want of health prevented his making them, and the employment of a clerk would have endangered a disclosure of Washington's purpose. The *originals* of Washington's letters he preserved, as he probably did or

ought to have done, all that had ever been addressed to him by that venerated hand. And this was the extent of his provision. After Hamilton's lamented death,—I place implicit confidence in the family tradition—it was not any of his family who discovered the rough original draught, but it was an eminent public man, to whom access to Hamilton's political papers was allowed, and who found it in one of the pigeon-holes of his cabinet. And thus it came to the world.

Such reserve and delicacy as Hamilton observed in regard to the assistance, Washington may have expected, and it is commonly expected in like cases. He may have expected, that, for the time then present, and perhaps while he was living, publication would not afford occasion of gossip or invidious party criticism, and become an instrument in the hands of party to weaken the influence of his counsels, by attributing them to the management of others; which, those who lived in that day may remember, there were men enough, high and low, well disposed to insinuate, without any proof or shadow of proof. A reserve of this kind may have been patriotically desirable, without the least infusion of vanity; and something of this nature may constitute the true limitation of reserve in all cases of like assistance by a minister or friend to a public chief, expressing his sentiments in his own name, whether officially or unofficially, to any part of the country, or to the people at large. I cannot, I think, be mistaken in the sentiment, that if Washington had desired more than this, it would have been a weakness; and that if Hamilton had practised more than this, it would have been a derogatory suspicion. To annex the pains of dishonor to the preservation of a paper by the assisting party, would not

only in this case misconceive the views of the party assisted, as they will immediately appear, but would in all cases encircle the office of a friend with thorns, which might fatally wound his character, whether a paper was accidentally or intentionally preserved by him; and would end in depriving all public chiefs of such aid, by surrounding it with insufferable penalties. Whatever may be thought of the general rule or principle, however, Washington's own course demonstrates infallibly the existence of an exception in this case, which he was competent to establish, and did establish, comprehending and justifying the course of Hamilton, whether it was accidental or intentional. And this is shown by a species of evidence quite irresistible.

Washington preserved copies and originals of all the papers and correspondence, on the subject of the Farewell Address, from his first application to Mr. Madison, in 1792, down to the publication of that Address, in 1796.

He preserved a copy of his letter to Mr. Madison, and the original of Madison's letter of 20th June, 1792, in reply. Either Washington preserved them, or Madison the counterparts, the original of Washington's letter, and a copy of the reply; for it is only from one or both of these sources that Mr. Sparks can have obtained them for his paper on the Farewell Address. Washington preserved the original of Madison's draught, the original of his own draught, the original of Hamilton's correction of it, the originals of all Hamilton's letters, and we presume,—for this was his habit,—copies of the letters he had written to Hamilton, touching the same matter. He preserved, we have no doubt, the *revision* of Hamilton, as he preserved all the other papers; for it is morally certain that from Washing-

ton's cabinet it must have come, directly or indirectly, to the *certain* person in Mr. Jay's letter, if there was accuracy in Judge Peters's statement. Washington was even anxious to keep copies of all these papers; for he urged upon Hamilton the safe-keeping and return of his own draught, because he had no copy, except of the "quoted part," which was Madison's; and of this he had the original. There is no difficulty, moreover, in suggesting why he was so tenacious of that draught, and so desirous of its being returned to him,—namely, that by it would be at all times shown what was his own, and what the contribution of another, to the Farewell Address. Washington preserved all these papers until his death, with his usual and very remarkable care; and he left them at his death to the inspection of affection or curiosity, which he knew to be unlimited in regard to all that concerned him. Nay, further: this care of papers, in relation to a subject vastly more interesting to affection and curiosity than any paper he ever published, must be, to every one who reflects upon it, a most persuasive proof of a foregone determination or conclusion on the part of Washington, that the full history of the Farewell Address, from the beginning to the end, including all the parties, and all their specific contributions, should be known at his death. One of his noble motives for this,—not looking to himself at all, but to the friend whose public virtues he knew, as well as his high-toned fidelity,—may not improbably have been, to show by them Hamilton's part in the preparation of the Address, and his more than accordance with its sentiments; that in this way, by Washington's agency, might be put down, the inveterate misrepresentations of a rising party, by the heads of which Hamilton was calumniated as hostile to

republican government, and to the principles of the Constitution. Such a motive would have perfectly corresponded with Washington's known affection and regard. Let us not be over-jealous for such a man, who was as true as steel to his principles and friends, and was infinitely above the petty jealousies which embitter the small traffickers for the praise of the world !

Some of his letters to Hamilton are marked *private* ; others are not so marked. The very first and fullest of all, the letter of the 15th May, is not so marked. It is this by which he commits his Valedictory Address to Hamilton, mentioning it by name, commenting upon it extensively, and requesting him to correct it, with authority to write it anew, if he saw fit—stipulating only for the guidance of his own sentiments. These were the Man, and these were all that he cared to have followed as his own. The letters of the 26th June and 10th August are not marked *private*, nor that of the 6th September. Those of the 25th August and 1st September are so marked. Can any person, upon the inspection of these letters, raise the proposition, that those marked *private* were to be regarded as specially private or confidential, and the others not so ? or that there was anything in that mark where it was used, except a partial observance of routine, sometimes followed by accident, and sometimes omitted in the like way, to distinguish a public letter, or a familiar one, from a letter that was to be treated with some reserve ? There is nothing in this mark, or in any part of the case, that shows a purpose in Washington to have the intervention of Hamilton treated with special secrecy. There was an intimation to the contrary, in the plainness with which he referred to Madison's

aid, and to his purpose of bringing home to *one or two* persons, the consciousness that the aid had been given upon a former occasion, and was not given now. If, however, the mark *private*, or any other mark, had looked to special reserve, it must have been used as a restriction for that time only, and for its then present purpose, because the careful retention of the papers we have referred to, until Washington's death, is irrefragable proof to that effect. It is an irrefutable answer to every one, who shall impute to Washington the small vanity of wishing to pass for the writer of what he did not write, or to Hamilton the correlative wrong of preserving what he ought not to have preserved. We bring such men down to a level far below them, to the level of the common vanities of common men, if we impute such foibles to them. Washington knew well, as every great or very eminent public man has known, that privacy, in its absolute sense, was not for him. He knew that all his papers relating to public transactions of note, must sooner or later become known; and not from affectionate curiosity only, or from the envy that follows public greatness as a shadow, even after it has become, in one sense, less than a shade itself, but from a grave public and abiding interest in the life and transactions of the man upon whom they bore. Washington knew all this as well as most men, and possibly better; and prepared for it accordingly, not by destroying or inventing, as some have done, but by letting everything concerning him be seen as it was. The sentiments of that Farewell Address were his own—principally by his suggestion; the leading or fundamental sentiments, exclusively so. This was the gold; the rest was the minting.

The whole of this invidious objection, which has been

noticed, is founded on a mistake. It is a mistake, whether we regard the subject in the light of general usage or of principle, to apply to such a paper as the Farewell Address, the rule which may be thought to prevail in cases of confidential literary assistance, supplied to a friend who is competing for literary honor as an author. That rule cannot have, and, in the practice of the world, has never received, an application to the case of a political or military chief, communicating his instructions or thoughts to the people, or to any branch of the public authorities. Such communications are essentially a public act, and not a personal one, except that, in such a leave-taking as Washington's, we may suppose that he searched the depths of his heart for the thoughts which he meant to utter to the people; and very many of the great thoughts of that paper are from his own heart. In the first intention, the paper would have been more a personal one, than it afterwards became, to Washington's entire satisfaction, through a just consideration of his great public relation to the *whole* country and people. The official character in such a case, and the direction to the whole people, could not be thrown off, without impairing the weight and influence of the writing, and almost its pertinency. The difference between a speech or message to the two Houses of Congress, and such an address to the people, may be a constitutional one in this sense, that there is an affirmative provision in the Constitution which includes the one expressly, without expressing the other; but, in the sense of public concern, and of executive supervision, there is no difference between them. Washington did not regard the paper as a personal one only. He read it to his Cabi-

net,* and he ordered it to be recorded in the Department of State. He was not competing for favor as an author, but recommending principles of government, and rules of political action, within the range and scope of the Executive office; and by whom he was assisted in giving form or expression to his thoughts, or in suggesting thoughts for his consideration, was a matter that no more touched his self-love, or his sense of self-respect, than the like service did in regard to a speech or message to Congress. No one, who has formed a just estimate of that great man, can imagine that he regarded his personal dignity, or his personal value and efficiency, and, least of all, his true claims to respect and reverence, as reduced or compromised, in the least degree, by his asking the aid of a friend, who had been his trusted minister, to arrange his thoughts, or to improve their expression, upon any public subject on which he felt it his duty to speak. He was so high-spirited and sensitive, as well as sincere, that the glimpse of such a thought would have turned him aside, as certainly, perhaps, as any man that ever lived. The resort to such assistance was all the more likely to be made, and was all the more frequently made, because no one was more justly entitled to feel conscious, that his powers of thought and expression were such as to place him on a perfect level with his office and duties; though, on occasions when he might encounter criticism from enemies or adversaries—and he had them both—he may have thought that his active life had not permitted him to become so sure of the various colors and shades of language, or so intimate with

* I state this fact upon the authority of a letter from Colonel Pickering, then Secretary of State, which is in the possession of John C. Hamilton, Esq.

the best forms of composition, as to enable him to select with facility, in the face of such critics, the plan and words which would give the most certain and effective expression to his thoughts, and the best protection against their perversions.

It is a small question to raise, after the death of two great public men, neither of whom, in his lifetime, suffered the breath of dishonor to condense upon his garments ; and each of whom, in his claims to a deathless reputation, could have referred to a thousand proofs that are stronger than the Farewell Address, or the original draught of it. But, having been raised, through accident or design, through levity or malevolence, my admiration of each has made me unwilling to withhold the humble labor of putting it in its proper light in regard to both.

Having now concluded this Inquiry, after placing in the body of it, or pointing out in the documents it refers to, ample and authentic materials from which every reader may form an opinion for himself, there is little occasion for expressing my own, upon the whole matter. I must avoid, however, the appearance of affectation, by suppressing it altogether at the conclusion, after having, no doubt, intimated portions of it incidentally, and sometimes perhaps unintentionally, in the course of the essay.

I have not the least intention, however, of either instituting, or leading to, a comparison of the respective values of the several contributions to the Farewell Address. If that question shall be raised, of which I should think there is little probability, at least among men who have sufficient sentiment to regard that Address as the testament of Wash-

ington, and Hamilton as the indicter of his Will, the comparison must have different results, as it shall be made upon either political, or moral, or literary grounds; for values of these descriptions are not comparable altogether in their nature, one or more of them passing by weight, adjusted upon exact principles, and one at least by a variable and rather arbitrary scale of taste or convention. Even the more ponderable parts are by no means on one side only. My disposition is to describe, and not to compare.

Washington was undoubtedly the original designer of the Farewell Address; and not merely by general or indefinite intimation, but by the suggestion of perfectly definite subjects, of an end or object, and of a general outline, the same which the paper now exhibits. His outline did not appear so distinctly in his own plan, because the subjects were not so arranged in it as to show that they were all comprehended within a regular and proportional figure; but when they came to be so arranged in the present Address, the scope of the whole design is seen to be contained within the limits he intended, and to fill them. The subjects were traced by him with adequate precision, though without due connection, with little expansion, and with little declared bearing of the parts upon each other, or towards a common centre; but they may now be followed with ease in their proper relations and bearing in the finished paper, such only excepted as he gave his final consent and approbation to exclude.

In the most common and prevalent sense of the word among literary men, this may not, perhaps, be called authorship; but in the primary etymological sense,—the quality of imparting growth or increase,—there can be no doubt that

it is so. By derivation from himself, the Farewell Address speaks the very mind of Washington. The fundamental thoughts and principles were his; but he was not the composer or writer of the paper.

Hamilton was, in the prevalent literary sense, the composer and writer of the paper. The occasional adoption of Washington's language does not materially take from the justice of this attribution. The new plan, the different form, proceeded from Hamilton. He was the author of it. He put together the thoughts of Washington in a new order, and with a new bearing; and while, as often as he could, he used the words of Washington, his own language was the general vehicle, both of his own thoughts, and for the expansion and combination of Washington's thoughts. Hamilton developed the thoughts of Washington, and corroborated them—included several cognate subjects, and added many effective thoughts from his own mind, and united all into one chain by the links of his masculine logic.

The main trunk was Washington's; the branches were stimulated by Hamilton; and the foliage, which was not exuberant, was altogether his; and he, more than Washington, pruned and nipped off, with severe discrimination, whatever was excessive,—that the tree might bear the fruits which Washington desired, and become his full and fit representative.

This is the impression which the proofs have made upon me; and I am not conscious of the least bias or partiality, in receiving it from them.

It is quite impossible, I think, to divide the work by anything like a sharp line between Washington and Hamilton; but there is less difficulty in representing the character of

their contributions, by language in some degree figurative, such as, in one instance, I have used already.

We have explicit authority for regarding the whole Man as compounded of BODY, SOUL, and SPIRIT. The Farewell Address, in a lower and figurative sense, is likewise so compounded. If these were divisible and distributable, we might, though not with full and exact propriety, allot the SOUL to Washington, and the SPIRIT to Hamilton. The elementary body is Washington's, also; but Hamilton has developed and fashioned it, and he has symmetrically formed and arranged the members, to give combined and appropriate action to the whole. This would point to an allotment of the soul and the elementary body to Washington, and of the arranging, developing, and informing spirit to Hamilton,—the same characteristic which is found in the great works he devised for the country, and are still the chart by which his department of the government is ruled.

The FAREWELL ADDRESS itself, while in one respect—the question of its authorship—it has had the fate of the *Eikon Basilike*, in another it has been more fortunate; for no *Iconoclastes* has appeared, or ever can appear, to break or mar the image and superscription of Washington, which it bears, or to sully the principles of moral and political action in the government of a Nation, which are reflected from it with his entire approval, and were, in fundamental points, dictated by himself.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

WASHINGTON'S ORIGINAL OR PREPARATORY DRAUGHT OF A FAREWELL ADDRESS.

[A copy of this document accompanied Washington's letter of 15th May, 1796, to A. Hamilton. The asterisks indicate the alterations by Washington, referred to in that letter.]

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:—

[BEGINNING.] The quotation in this Address was composed, and intended to have been published, in the year 1792, in time to have announced to the Electors of the President and Vice-President of the United States, the determination of *the former, previous to the said election to that office could have been made*; but the solicitude of my confidential friends *** **
*** **
(***** ** ***) *****
***** added to the peculiar situation of our foreign affairs at that epoch, induced me to suspend the promulgation, lest, among other reasons, my retirement might be ascribed to political cowardice. In place thereof, I resolved, if it

should be the pleasure of my fellow-citizens to honor me again with their suffrages, to devote such services as I could render, a year or two longer, trusting that within that period all impediments to an honorable retreat would be removed.

In this hope, as fondly entertained as it was conceived, I entered upon the execution of the duties of my second administration. But if the causes which produced this postponement had any weight in them at that period, it will readily be acknowledged that there has been no diminution in them since, until very lately, and it will serve to account for the delay which has taken place in communicating the sentiments which were then committed to writing, and are now found in the following words:—

[MADISON'S
DRAFT.] “The period which will close the appointment with which my fellow-citizens have honored me, being not very distant, and the time actually arrived at which their thoughts must be designating the citizen who is to administer the executive government of the United States during the ensuing term, it may be requisite to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should apprise such of my fellow-citizens as may retain their partiality towards me, that I am not to be numbered among those out of whom a choice is to be made.

“I beg them to be assured that the resolution, which dictates this intimation, has not been taken without the strictest regard to the relation which, as a dutiful citizen, I bear to my country; and that, in withdrawing that tender of my service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am not influenced by the smallest deficiency of zeal for its future interests, or of grateful respect for its past kindness; but by the fullest persuasion that such a step is compatible with both.

“The impressions, under which I entered on the present arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In discharge of this trust, I can only say, that I contributed towards the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a

very fallible judgment was capable. For any errors, which may have flowed from this source, I feel all the regret which an anxiety for the public good can excite; not without the double consolation, however, arising from a consciousness of their being involuntary, and an experience of the candor which will interpret them.

“If there were any circumstances which could give value to my inferior qualifications for the trust, these circumstances must have been temporary. In this light was the undertaking viewed when I ventured upon it. Being, moreover, still further advanced in the decline of life, I am every day more sensible, that the increasing weight of years renders the private walks of it, in the shade of retirement, as necessary as they will be acceptable to me.

“May I be allowed to add, that it will be among the highest as well as purest enjoyments that can sweeten the remnant of my days, to partake in a private station, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, of that benign influence of good laws under a free government, which has been the ultimate object of all our wishes, and in which I confide as the happy reward of our cares and labors? May I be allowed further to add, as a consideration far more important, that an early example of rotation in an office of so high and delicate a nature may equally accord with the republican spirit of our Constitution, and the ideas of liberty and safety entertained by the people.

“In contemplating the moment at which the curtain is to drop forever on the public scenes of my life, my sensations anticipate, and do not permit me to suspend, the deep acknowledgments required by that debt of gratitude, which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me, for the distinguished confidence it has reposed in me, and for the opportunities I have thus enjoyed of testifying my inviolable attachment by the most steadfast services, which my faculties could render.

“All the returns I have now to make will be in those vows, which I shall carry with me to my retirement and to my grave, that Heaven may continue to favor the people of the United States with the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that their union and brotherly

affection may be perpetual; that the free Constitution, which is the work of their own hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration, in every department, may be stamped with wisdom and with virtue; and that this character may be insured to it by that watchfulness over public servants, and public measures, which on one hand will be necessary to prevent or correct a degeneracy, and that forbearance, on the other, from unfounded or indiscriminate jealousies, which would deprive the public of the best services, by depriving a conscious integrity of one of the noblest incitements to perform them; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of America, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire them the glorious satisfaction of recommending it to the affection, the praise, and the adoption of every nation, which is yet a stranger to it.

“And may we not dwell with well-grounded hopes on this flattering prospect, when we reflect on the many ties by which the people of America are bound together, and the many proofs they have given of an enlightened judgment and a magnanimous patriotism?

“We may all be considered as the children of one common country. We have all been embarked in one common cause. We have all had our share in common sufferings and common successes. The portion of the earth, allotted for the theatre of our fortunes, fulfils our most sanguine desires. All its essential interests are the same; while the diversities arising from climate, from soil, and from other local and lesser peculiarities, will naturally form a mutual relation of the parts, that may give to the whole a more entire independence, than has perhaps fallen to the lot of any other nation.

“To confirm these motives to an affectionate and permanent Union, and to secure the great objects of it, we have established a common government, which, being free in its principles, being founded in our own choice, being intended as the guardian of our common rights, and the patron of our common interests, and wisely containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, as ex-

perience may point out its errors, seems to promise everything that can be expected from such an institution ; and, if supported by wise counsels, by virtuous conduct, and by mutual and friendly allowances, must approach as near to perfection as any human work can aspire, and nearer than any which the annals of mankind have recorded.

“With these wishes and hopes, I shall make my exit from civil life ; and I have taken the same liberty of expressing them, which I formerly used in offering the sentiments which were suggested by my exit from military life.

“If, in either instance, I have presumed more than I ought, on the indulgence of my fellow-citizens, they will be too generous to ascribe it to any other cause, than the extreme solicitude which I am bound to feel, and which I can never cease to feel, for their liberty, their prosperity, and their happiness.”

[HINTS, OR HEADS
OF TOPICS.] “Had the situation of our public affairs continued to wear the same aspect they assumed at the time the foregoing address was drawn, I should not have taken the liberty of troubling you, my fellow-citizens, with any new sentiment, or with a repetition more in detail of those, which are therein contained ; but considerable changes having taken place, both at home and abroad, I shall ask your indulgence while I express, with more lively sensibility, the following most ardent wishes of my heart.

“That party disputes among all the friends and lovers of their country may subside, or, as the wisdom of Providence has ordained that men on the same subjects shall not always think alike, that charity and benevolence, when they happen to differ, may so far shed their benign influence, as to banish those invectives which proceed from illiberal prejudices and jealousy.

“That, as the All-wise Dispenser of human blessings has favored no nation of the earth with more abundant and substantial means of happiness than United America, we may not be so ungrateful to our Creator, so wanting to ourselves, and so regardless of posterity,

as to dash the cup of beneficence, which is thus bountifully offered to our acceptance.

“That we may fulfil with the greatest exactitude *all* our engagements, foreign and domestic, to the *utmost* of our abilities, whensoever and in whatsoever manner they are pledged; for in public, as in private life, I am persuaded that honesty will forever be found to be the best policy.

“That we may avoid connecting ourselves with the politics of any nation, farther than shall be found necessary to regulate our own trade, in order that commerce may be placed upon a stable footing, our merchants know their rights, and the government the ground on which those rights are to be supported.

“That every citizen would take pride in the name of an American, and act as if he felt the importance of the character, by considering, that we, ourselves are now a distinct nation, the dignity of which will be absorbed, if not annihilated, if we enlist ourselves, farther than our obligations may require, under the banners of any other nation whatsoever. And, moreover, that we should guard against the intrigues of any and every foreign nation, who shall endeavor to intermingle, however covertly and indirectly, in the internal concerns of our country, or who shall attempt to prescribe rules for our policy with any other power, if there be no infraction of our engagements with themselves, as one of the greatest evils that can befall us as a people; for, whatever may be their professions, be assured, fellow-citizens, and the event will, as it always has, invariably prove, that nations as well as individuals act for their own benefit, and not for the benefit of others, unless both interests happen to be assimilated; and when that is the case there requires no contract to bind them together; that all their interferences are calculated to promote the former; and, in proportion as they succeed, will render us less independent. In a word, nothing is more certain, than that, if we receive favors we must grant favors; and it is not easy to decide beforehand under such circumstances as we are, on which side the balance will ultimately preponderate; but

easy indeed is it to foresee, that it may involve us in disputes, and finally in war, to fulfil political alliances. Whereas, if there be no engagements on our part, we shall be unembarrassed, and at liberty at all times to act from circumstances, and the dictates of justice, sound policy, and our essential interests.

“That we may be always prepared for war, but never unsheath the sword except in self-defence, so long as justice, and our essential rights and national respectability, can be preserved without it; for without the gift of prophecy it may safely be pronounced, that, if this country can remain in peace twenty years longer (and I devoutly pray, that it may do so to the end of time), such, in all probability, will be its population, riches, and resources, when combined with its peculiarly happy and remote situation from the other quarters of the globe, as to bid defiance, in a just cause, to any earthly power whatsoever.

“That, whensoever and so long as we profess to be neutral, our public conduct, whatever our private affections may be, may accord therewith; without suffering partialities on one hand, or prejudices on the other, to control our actions. A contrary practice is not only incompatible with our declarations, but is pregnant with mischief, embarrassing to the administration, tending to divide us into parties, and ultimately productive of all those evils and horrors, which proceed from faction.

“That our Union may be as lasting as time; for, while we are encircled in one band, we shall possess the strength of a giant, and there will be none who can make us afraid. Divide, and we shall become weak, a prey to foreign intrigues and internal discord, and shall be as miserable and contemptible, as we are now enviable and happy.

“That the several departments of government may be preserved in their utmost constitutional purity, without any attempt of one to encroach on the rights or privileges of another; that the General and State governments may move in their proper orbits; and that the authorities of our own Constitution may be respected by our-

selves, as the most certain means of having them respected by foreigners.

“In expressing these sentiments it will readily be perceived, that I can have no other view now, whatever malevolence might have ascribed to it before, than such as results from a perfect conviction of the utility of the measure. If public servants, in the exercise of their official duties, are found incompetent, or pursuing wrong courses, discontinue them. If they are guilty of malpractices in office, let them be more exemplarily punished. In both cases, the Constitution and laws have made provision; but do not withdraw your confidence from them, the best incentive to a faithful discharge of their duty, without just cause; nor infer, because measures of a complicated nature, which time, opportunity, and close investigation alone can penetrate,—for these reasons are not easily comprehended by those who do not possess the means,—that it necessarily follows they must be wrong. This would not only be doing injustice to your trustees, but be counteracting your own essential interests, rendering those trustees, if not contemptible in the eyes of the world, little better at least, than ciphers in the administration of the government, and the Constitution of your own choosing would reproach you for such conduct.”

As this Address, fellow-citizens, will be the last I shall
[CONCLUSION.] ever make you, and as some of the gazettes of the United States have teemed with all the invective that disappointment, ignorance of facts, and malicious falsehoods could invent, to misrepresent my politics and affections; to wound my reputation and feelings; and to weaken if not entirely destroy the confidence you had been pleased to repose in me; it might be expected at the parting scene of my public life, that I should take some notice of such virulent abuse. But, as heretofore, I shall pass them over in utter silence; never having myself, nor by any other with my participation or knowledge, written, or published a scrap in answer to any of them. My politics have been unconcealed, plain and direct.

They will be found (so far as they relate to the belligerent powers) in the proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793; which, having met your approbation, and the confirmation of Congress, I have uniformly and steadily adhered to, uninfluenced by and regardless of the complaints and attempts of *any of those* powers or their partisans to change them.

The acts of my administration are on record. By these, which will not change with circumstances nor admit of different interpretations, I expect to be judged. If they will not acquit me, in your estimation, it will be a source of regret; but I shall hope notwithstanding, as I did not seek the office with which you have honored me, that charity may throw her mantle over my want of abilities to do better—that the gray hairs of a man who has, excepting the interval between the close of the Revolutionary War and the organization of the new government—either in a civil, or military character, spent five and forty years—*All the prime of his life*—in serving his country, be suffered to pass quietly to the grave—and that his errors, however numerous, if they are not criminal, may be consigned to the tomb of oblivion, as he himself soon will be to the mansions of retirement.

To err is the lot of humanity, and never for a moment, have I ever had the presumption to suppose that I had not a full proportion of it. Infallibility not being the attribute of man, we ought to be cautious in censuring the opinions and conduct of one another. To avoid intentional error in my public conduct has been my constant endeavor; and I set malice at defiance to charge me justly, with the commission of a wilful one; or, with the neglect of any public duty, which in my opinion ought to have been performed, since I have been in the administration of the government,—an administration which I do not hesitate to pronounce—the infancy of the government, and all other circumstances considered—that has been as difficult, delicate, and trying as may occur again in any future period of our history; through the whole of which I have to the best of my judgment, and with the best information and advice I could obtain,

consulted the true and permanent interest of my country without regard to local considerations—to individuals—to parties—or to nations.

To conclude, and I feel proud in having it in my power to do so with truth, that it was not from ambitious views; it was not from ignorance of the hazard to which I knew I was exposing my reputation; it was not from an expectation of pecuniary compensation, that I have yielded to the calls of my country; and that, if my country has derived no benefit from my services, my fortune, in a pecuniary point of view, has received no augmentation from my country. But in delivering this last sentiment, let me be unequivocally understood as not intending to express any discontent on my part, or to imply any reproach on my country on that account. [The first would be untrue—the other ungrateful. And no occasion more fit than the present may ever occur perhaps to declare, as I now do declare, that nothing but the principle upon which I set out, and from which I have in no instance departed, not to receive more from the public than my expenses, has restrained the bounty of several legislatures at the close of the war with Great Britain from adding considerably to my pecuniary resources.]* I retire from the chair of government no otherwise benefitted in this particular than what you have all experienced from the increased value of property, flowing from the peace and prosperity with which our country has been blessed amidst tumults which have harassed and involved other countries in all the horrors of war. I leave you with undefiled hands, an uncorrupted heart, and with ardent vows to Heaven for the welfare and happiness of that country in which I and my forefathers, to the third or fourth progenitor, drew our first breath.

G^O. WASHINGTON.

* In the margin of this passage, which is here bracketed, Washington wrote: "This may or not be omitted." The brackets are not in the copy of Washington's draught.

No. II.

FAREWELL ADDRESS.

ABSTRACT OF POINTS TO FORM AN ADDRESS.*

Hamilton's Works, Vol. VII, p. 570.

1796.

I. The period of a new election approaching, it is his duty to announce his intention to decline.

II. He had hoped that long ere this it would have been in his power, and particularly had nearly come to a final resolution in the year 1792 to do it, but the peculiar situation of affairs, and advice of confidential friends, dissuaded.

III. In acquiescing in a further election he still hoped a year or two longer would have enabled him to withdraw, but a continuance of causes has delayed till now, when the position of our country, abroad and at home, justifies him in pursuing his inclination.

IV. In doing it he has not been unmindful of his relations as a dutiful citizen to his country, nor is now influenced by the smallest diminution of zeal for its interest or gratitude for its past kindness, but by a belief that the step is compatible with both.

V. The impressions under which he first accepted were explained on the proper occasion.

VI. In the execution of it he has contributed the best exertions of a very fallible judgment—anticipated his insufficiency—experienced his disqualifications for the difficult trust, and every day a stronger sentiment from that cause to yield the place—advance into the decline of life—every day more sensible of weight of years, of the necessity of repose, of the duty to seek retirement, &c. Add,

* This indorsement, together with the whole of this paper, is copied from a draught in Hamilton's hand.—Ed.

VII. It will be among the purest enjoyments which can sweeten the remnant of his days, to partake in a private station, in the midst of his fellow-citizens, the laws of a free government, the ultimate object of his cares and wishes.

VIII. As to rotation.

IX. In contemplating the moment of retreat, cannot forbear to express his deep acknowledgments and debt of gratitude for the many honors conferred on him—the steady confidence which, even amidst discouraging scenes and efforts to poison its source, has adhered to support him, and enabled him to be useful—marking, if well placed, the virtue and wisdom of his countrymen. All the return he can now make must be in the vows he will carry with him to his retirement: 1st, for a continuance of the Divine beneficence to his country; 2d, for the perpetuity of their union and brotherly affection—for a good administration insured by a happy union of watchfulness and confidence; 3d, that happiness of people under auspices of liberty may be complete; 4th, that by a prudent use of the blessing they may recommend to the affection, the praise, and the adoption, of every nation yet a stranger to it.

X. Perhaps here he ought to end. But an unconquerable solicitude for the happiness of his country will not permit him to leave the scene without availing himself of whatever confidence may remain in him, to strengthen some sentiments which he believes to be essential to their happiness, and to recommend some rules of conduct, the importance of which his own experience has more than ever impressed upon him.

XI. To consider the Union as the rock of their salvation, presenting summarily these ideas:

1. The strength and greater security from external danger.
2. Internal peace, and avoiding the necessity of establishments dangerous to liberty.
3. Avoids the effects of foreign intrigue.
4. Breaks the force of faction by rendering combinations more difficult.

Safety, peace,
and liberty and
commerce.

Fitness of the parts for each other by their very discriminations :

1. The North, by its capacity for maritime strength and manufacture.

2. The agricultural South furnishing materials and requiring those protections.

The Atlantic board to the western country by the strong interest of peace, and

The Western, by the necessity of Atlantic maritime protection.

Cannot be secure of their great outlet otherwise—cannot trust a foreign connection.

Solid interests invite to union. Speculation of difficulty of government ought not to be indulged, nor momentary jealousies—lead to impatience.

Faction and individual ambition are the only advisers of disunion.

Let confidence be cherished. Let the recent experience of the West be a lesson against impatience and distrust.

XII. Cherish the actual government. It is the government of our own choice, free in its principles, the guardian of our common rights, the patron of our common interests, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment.

But let that provision be cautiously used—not abused; changing only in any material points as experience shall direct; neither indulging speculations of too much or too little force in the system; and remembering always the extent of our country.

Time and habit of great consequence to every government, of whatever structure.

Discourage the spirit of faction, the bane of free government; and particularly avoid founding it on geographical discriminations. Discountenance slander of public men. Let the departments of government avoid interfering and mutual encroachment.

XIII. Morals, religion, industry, commerce, economy.

Cherish public credit—source of strength and security.

Adherence to systematic views.

XIV. Cherish good faith, justice, and peace, with other nations :

1. Because religion and morality dictate it.

2. Because policy dictates it.

If these could exist, a nation invariably honest and faithful, the benefits would be immense.

But avoid national antipathies or national attachments.

Display the evils ; fertile source of wars—instrument of *ambitious rulers*.

XV. Republics peculiarly exposed to foreign intrigue, those sentiments lay them open to it.

XVI. The great rule of our foreign politics ought to be to have as little political connection as possible with foreign nations.

Cultivating commerce with all by gentle and natural means, diffusing and diversifying it, but *forcing nothing*—and cherish the sentiment of *independence*, taking pride in the appellation of American.

Establishing temporary and convenient rules that commerce may be placed on a stable footing; merchants know their commerce; how to support them, not seeking *favours*.

XVII. Our separation from Europe renders standing alliances inexpedient—subjecting our peace and interest to the primary and complicated relations of European interests.

{ Keeping constantly in view to place ourselves upon a respectable *defensive*, and if forced into controversy, trusting to connections of the occasion.

XVIII. Our attitude imposing and rendering this policy safe.

But this must be with the exception of existing engagements, to be preserved but not extended.

XIX. It is not expected that these admonitions can control the course of the human passions, but if they only moderate them in some instances, and now and then excite the reflections of virtuous men heated by party spirit, my endeavor is rewarded.

XX. How far, in the administration of my present office my conduct has conformed to these principles, the public records must witness. My conscience assures me that I believed myself to be guided by them.

XXI. Particularly in relation to the present war, the proclamation of the 22^d of April, 1793, is the key to my plan.

Touch sentiments
with regard to
conduct of bel-
ligerent powers.
A wish that
France may es-
tablish good gov-
ernment.

Approved by your voice and that of your representatives in Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually guided me, uninfluenced by, and regardless of, the complaints and attempts of any of the powers at war or their partisans to change them.

I thought our country had a right under all the circumstances to take this ground, and I was resolved as far as depended on me to maintain it firmly.

XXII. However, in reviewing the course of my administration, I may be unconscious of intentional errors, I am too sensible of my own deficiencies not to believe that I may have fallen into many. I deprecate the evils to which they may tend, and pray Heaven to avert or mitigate and abridge them. I carry with me, nevertheless, the hope that my motives will continue to be viewed with indulgence, that after forty-five years of my life devoted to public service, with a good zeal and upright views, the faults of deficient abilities will be consigned to oblivion, and myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

XXIII. Neither interest nor ambition has been my impelling motive. I never abused the power confided to me—I have not bettered my fortune, retiring with it, no otherwise improved than by the influence on property of the common blessings of my country:—I retire with undefiled hands and an uncorrupted heart, and with ardent vows for the welfare of that country, which has been the native soil of myself and my ancestors for *four generations*.

No. III.

HAMILTON'S ORIGINAL DRAUGHT OF AN ADDRESS.*

Hamilton's Works, Vol. VII, p. 575.

[MEMORANDUM.—The clauses in this reprint which are inclosed by brackets, with an exception of four words in the 26th paragraph, that are bracketed in Hamilton's works, show the origin of the cancelled passages in Washington's autograph copy of the Farewell Address. The original of this draught is indorsed by Hamilton, "Copy of the original draught considerably *amended*."]]

August, 1796.

The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States, being not very distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust for another term, it appears to me proper, and especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, nevertheless,† to be assured that the resolution which I announce, has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations attached to‡ the relation which, as a dutiful citizen, I bear§ to my|| country, and that in withdrawing the tender of my service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for its future interest, nor by any deficiency

* This is a copy of the original draught in Hamilton's autograph. The notes embrace the *final* alterations in *this* draught, but there are many previous erasures which can only be given in a fac-simile.—Ed.

† at the same time.

‡ connected with—inseparable from—incident to.

§ bears.

|| his.

of grateful respect for its past kindness, but by a full conviction that such a step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and the continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, has been a uniform sacrifice of private inclination to* the opinion of public duty coinciding with what appeared to be your wishes. I had constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which *those† motives* had reluctantly drawn me.

The strength of my desire to withdraw previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you, but deliberate‡ reflection on the very critical and perplexed posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of men§ every way entitled to my confidence, obliged|| me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your national concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of my inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety, and¶ that whatever partiality any portion of you may still retain for my services, they, under the existing circumstances of our country, will not disapprove the** resolution†† I have formed.

The impressions under which I first accepted the arduous trust of Chief Magistrate of the United States, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I can only say that I have, with pure intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable; that conscious at‡‡ the outset of the inferiority of my qualifications for the station, experience in my own eyes, and perhaps still more in those of others, has not dimi-

* combined with a deference for.

‡ persons.

** my.

† they.

|| impelled.

†† to retire.

‡ mature.

¶ whatever.

‡‡ in.

nished in me the diffidence of myself—and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary* as it will be welcome to me. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given a peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while inclination and prudence urge me to recede from the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it. [May I also have that of knowing in my† retreat, that the involuntary errors which I have probably committed, have been the causes of no serious or lasting mischief to my country, and thus be spared the anguish of regrets which would disturb the repose of my retreat and embitter the remnant of my life! I may then expect to realize, without alloy, the pure enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, of the benign influence of good laws under a free government; the ultimate object of all my wishes, and to which I look as the happy reward‡ of our mutual labors and dangers.]

In looking forward to the moment which is to terminate the career of my public life, my sensations do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgments required by that debt of gratitude, which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me, still more for the distinguished and steadfast confidence it has reposed in me, and for the opportunities it has thus afforded me§ of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering—however the inadequateness of my faculties may have ill-seconded my|| zeal. If benefits have resulted to you, my fellow-citizens, from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that the constancy of your support amidst appearances¶ dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, and in situations in which, not unfre-

* to me.

† retirement.

‡ I hope.

§ I have thence enjoyed.

|| have rendered their efforts unequal to my—disproportional.

¶ under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to the greatest fluctuations.

quently, want of success has seconded the criticisms of malevolence,* was the essential prop of the efforts and the guarantee of the measures by which they were achieved.

Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my retirement, and to my grave, as a lively incitement to unceasing vows (the only returns I can henceforth make) that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence, merited by national piety and morality—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free Constitution, which is the work of your own hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty may be made complete, by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire them the glorious satisfaction of recommending it to the affection—the praise—and the adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop: but a solicitude for your welfare,⁷ which cannot end but with my life, and the fear that there may exist projects unfriendly to it, against which it may be necessary you should be guarded, urge me in taking leave of you, to offer to your solemn consideration and frequent review, some sentiments, the result of mature reflection confirmed by observation and experience, which appear to me essential to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested advice of a parting friend, who can have no personal motive to tincture or bias his counsel.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every fibre of your hearts, no recommendation is necessary to fortify your attachment TO IT. Next to this, that unity of government which constitutes you one people, claims your vigilant care and guardianship—as a

* sometimes.

main pillar of your real independence, of your peace, safety, freedom, and happiness.

[This being the point in your political fortress, against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively, however covertly and insidiously levelled, it is of the utmost importance that you should appreciate, in its full force, the immense value of your political union to your national and individual happiness—that you should cherish towards it an affectionate and immovable attachment, and that you should watch for its preservation with jealous solicitude.]

For this, you have every motive of sympathy and interest. Children for the most part of a common country, that country claims and ought to concentrate your affections. The name of American must always gratify and exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any denomination which can be derived from local discriminations. You have with slight shades of difference the same religion, manners, habits, and political institutions and principles—you have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together. The independence and liberty you enjoy are the work of joint councils, efforts, dangers, sufferings, and successes. By your union you achieved them, by your union you will most effectually maintain them.

The considerations which address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly* strengthened† by those which apply to your interest. Here, every portion of our country will find the most urgent and commanding motives for guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North in‡ intercourse with the South under the equal laws of one government, will, in the productions of the latter, many of them peculiar, find vast additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise.§ The South, in the same intercourse, will share

* even.

† outweighed.

‡ free and unfettered.

§ and precious materials of their manufacturing industry.

in the benefits of the agency of the North, will find its agriculture promoted and its commerce extended by turning into its own channels those means of navigation which the North more abundantly affords; and while it contributes to extend the national navigation, will participate in the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West,* finds a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad or manufactures at home. The West derives through this channel an essential supply of its wants; and what is far more important to it, it must owe the secure and permanent enjoyment of the indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and maritime resources of the Atlantic States.† The tenure by which it could hold this advantage either from its own separate strength, or by an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign nation, must be intrinsically and necessarily precarious, [at every moment liable to be disturbed by the‡ combinations of those primary§ interests which constantly regulate the conduct of every portion of Europe,] and where every part finds a particular interest in the Union. All the parts of our country will find in their Union|| strength, proportional security from external danger, less frequent interruption of their peace with foreign nations; and what is far more valuable, an exemption from those broils and wars between the parts if disunited, which, then, our rivalships, fomented by foreign intrigue or the opposite alliances with foreign nations engendered by their mutual jealousies, would inevitably produce.¶

These considerations speak a conclusive language to every vir-

* and in the progressive improvement of internal navigation will more and more find.

† directed by an indissoluble community of interests.

‡ fluctuating.

§ European.

|| greater independence, from the superior abundance and variety of production incident to the diversity of soil and climate. All the parts of it must find in the aggregate assemblage and reaction of their mutual population—production.

¶ consequent exemption from the necessity of those military establishments upon a large scale, which bear in every country so menacing an aspect towards liberty.

tuous and considerate mind. They place the continuance of our Union among the first objects of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can long embrace so extensive a sphere? Let time and experience decide the question. Speculation in such a case ought not to be listened to. And 'tis rational to hope that the auxiliary* governments of the subdivisions, with a proper organization of the whole, will secure a favorable issue to the experiment. ['Tis allowable to believe that the spirit of party, the intrigues of foreign nations, the corruption and the ambition of individuals, are likely to prove more formidable adversaries to the unity of our empire, than any inherent difficulties in the scheme. 'Tis against these that the guards† of national opinion, national sympathy, national prudence and virtue, are to be erected.] With such obvious motives to union, there will be always cause from the fact itself to distrust the patriotism of those who‡ may endeavor to weaken its bands. And by all the love I bear you, my fellow-citizens, I conjure§ you, as|| often as it appears, to frown upon the attempt.

[Besides the more serious causes which have been hinted at, as endangering our Union, there is another less dangerous, but against which it is necessary to be on our guard; I mean the petulance of party¶ differences of opinion. It is not uncommon to hear the irritations which these excite, vent themselves in declarations that the different parts of the Union are ill-assorted and cannot remain together—in menaces from the inhabitants of one part to those of another, that it will be dissolved by this or that measure. Intimations of the kind are as indiscreet as they are intemperate. Though frequently made with levity and without being in earnest, they have a tendency to produce the consequence which they indicate. They teach the minds of men to consider the Union as precarious, as an

* agency of.

† in any quarter.

|| "often"—instead of "far."

‡ mounds.

§ exhort—(*written first.*)

¶ collisions and disgusts.

object to which they are not to attach their hopes and fortunes, and thus weaken the sentiment in its favor. By rousing the resentment and alarming the pride of those to whom they are addressed, they set ingenuity to work to depreciate the value of the object, and to discover motives of indifference to it. This is not wise. Prudence demands that we should habituate ourselves in all our words and actions to reverence the Union as a sacred and inviolable palladium of our happiness, and should discountenance whatever can lead to a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned.]

['Tis matter of serious concern that parties in this country, for some time past, have been too much characterized by geographical discriminations—Northern and Southern States, Atlantic and Western country. These discriminations,* which are the mere artifice of the spirit of party, (always dexterous to avail itself of every source of sympathy, of every handle by which the passions can be taken hold of, and which has been careful to turn to account the circumstance of territorial vicinity,†) have furnished an argument against the Union as evidence of a real difference of local interests and views, and serve to hazard it, by organizing large districts of country under the direction of§ different factions, whose passions and prejudices, rather than the true interests of the country, will be too apt to regulate the use of their influence. If it be possible to correct this poison in the affairs of our country, it is worthy the best endeavors of moderate and virtuous men to effect it.]

One of the expedients which the partisans of faction employ towards strengthening their influence by local discriminations,|| is to misrepresent the opinions and views of rival districts. The people at large cannot be too much on their guard against the jealousies which grow out of these misrepresentations. They tend to render aliens to each other those who ought to be tied together by fraternal affection. The western country have lately had a useful lesson on

* of party.

† sympathy of.

‡ neighborhood.

§ the leaders of.

|| within local spheres.

this subject. They have seen in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification of the treaty with Spain by the Senate, and in the universal satisfaction at that event in all parts of the country, a decisive proof how unfounded have been the suspicions instilled* in them of a policy in the Atlantic States, and in the different departments of the General Government, hostile to their interests in relation to the Mississippi. They have seen two treaties formed, which secure to them everything that they could desire to confirm their prosperity. Will they not henceforth rely for the preservation of these advantages on that Union by which they were procured? Will they not reject those counsellors who would render them alien to their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the duration and efficacy of your Union, a government extending over the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts could be an adequate substitute. These could not fail to be liable to the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have suffered. Sensible of this important truth, you have lately established a Constitution of general government, better calculated than the former for an intimate union, and more adequate to the duration of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting energy with safety, and containing in itself a provision for its own amendment, is well entitled to your confidence and support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures,† are duties dictated by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the Constitution for the time, and until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly binding upon all. The very idea of the right and power of the

* propagated among.

† ordinary management of affairs to be left to represent.

people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws—all *combinations* and *associations*, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to counteract,* control,† or awe the regular‡ action of the constituted authorities, are contrary to this fundamental principle, and of the most fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction,§ and to put in the stead of the delegated will of the whole nation the will of a party, often a small|| minority of the whole community; and according to the alternate triumph of different parties, to make the public administration reflect the¶ schemes and projects of faction rather than the wholesome plans of common councils and deliberations. However combinations or associations of this description may occasionally promote popular ends and purposes, they are likely to produce, in the course of time and things, the most effectual engines by which artful, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people and usurp the reins of government.

Towards the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is not only requisite that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its authority, but that you should be on your guard against the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexes. One method of assault may be, to effect alterations in the forms of the Constitution tending to impair the energy of the system, and so to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of any other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which the real tendency of existing constitutions of government can be tried; that

* direct.

‡ deliberation or.

|| but artful and enterprising.

† influence.

§ to give it an artificial force.

¶ ill-concerted.

changes upon* the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion exposes you to perpetual change from the successive and endless variety of hypothesis and opinion. And remember also,† that for the efficacious management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much force and strength as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and arranged, its surest guardian and protector. [In my opinion, the real danger in our system is, that the General Government, organized as at present, will prove too weak, rather than too powerful.]

I have already observed the danger to be apprehended from founding our parties on geographical discriminations. Let me now enlarge the view of this point, and caution you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of party spirit in general. This spirit unfortunately is inseparable from human nature, and has its root in the strongest passions of the human heart. It exists under different shapes in all governments, but‡ in those of the popular form it is always seen in its utmost vigor and rankness, and is their worst enemy. [In republics of narrow extent, it is not difficult for those who at any time possess the reins of administration, or even for partial combinations of men, who from birth, riches, and other sources of distinction, have an extraordinary influence, by possessing or acquiring the direction of the military force, or by sudden efforts of partisans and followers to overturn the established order of things, and effect a usurpation. But in republics of large extent, the one or the other is scarcely possible. The powers and opportunities of resistance of a numerous and wide-extended nation defy the successful efforts of the ordinary military force, or of any collections§ which wealth and patronage may call to their aid, especially if there be no city of overbearing force, resources, and influ-

* facility in.

† always.

‡ in different degrees stifled, controlled, or repressed.

§ assemblages.

ence. In such republics it is perhaps safe to assert, that the conflicts of popular faction offer the only avenues to tyranny and usurpation.] The domination of one faction over another, stimulated by that spirit of revenge which is apt to be gradually engendered, and which in different ages and countries has produced the greatest enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, predispose the minds of men to seek repose and security in the absolute power of a single man; and the* leader of a prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of an ambitious and criminal self-aggrandizement.

Without looking forward to such an extremity (which, however, ought not to be out of sight), the ordinary and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party make it the interest and the duty of a wise people to discountenance and repress it.

It serves always to distract the councils and enfeeble the administration of the government. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms.† It opens inlets for foreign corruption and influence, which find an easy access [through the channels of party passions, and cause the true policy and interest of our own country to be made subservient to the policy and interest of one and another foreign nation; sometimes enslaving our own government to the will of a foreign government].

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are salutary checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to invigorate the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is true; and in governments of a monarchical character or bias, patriotism may look with some favor on the spirit of party. But in those of the popular kind, in those purely elective, it is a spirit not to be

* some.

† embittering one part of the community against another, and producing occasionally riot and insurrection.

fostered or encouraged. From the natural tendency of such governments, it is certain there will always be enough of it for every salutary purpose, and there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by the force of public opinion, to mitigate and correct it. 'Tis a fire which *cannot be quenched, but demands† a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame—lest it should not only warm, but consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking of the people should tend to produce caution in their public agents in the several departments of government, to retain each within its proper sphere, and not to permit one to encroach upon another,—that every attempt of the kind, from whatever quarter, should meet with the discountenance‡ of the community, and that, in every case in which a precedent of encroachment shall have been given, a corrective be sought in [revocation be effected by] a careful attention to the next choice§ of public agents. The spirit of encroachment tends to absorb|| the powers of the several branches and departments into one, and thus to establish, under whatever forms, a despotism. A just knowledge of the human heart, of that love of power which predominates in it, is alone sufficient to establish this truth. Experiments, ancient and modern, some in our own country and under our own eyes, serve to confirm it. If, in the public opinion, the distribution of the constitutional powers be in any instance wrong, or inexpedient—let it be corrected by the authority of the people in a legitimate constitutional course. Let there be no change by usurpation, for though this may be the instrument of good in one instance, it is the ordinary¶ instrument of the destruction** of free government—and the influence of the precedent is always infinitely more pernicious than anything which it may achieve can be beneficial.

* not to.

§ election.

** death.

† demanding.

|| and consolidate.

‡ reprobation.

¶ and natural.

In all those dispositions which promote political happiness,* religion and morality are essential props. In vain does he† claim the praise of patriotism, who labors to subvert or undermine these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest foundations of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public happiness.

Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of moral and religious obligation deserts the oaths which are ‡administered in courts of justice? Nor ought we to flatter ourselves that morality can be separated from religion. Concede as much as may be asked to the effect of refined education in minds of peculiar structure—can we believe—can we in prudence suppose that national morality can be maintained in exclusion of religious principles? Does it not require the aid of a generally received and divinely authoritative religion?

'Tis essentially true that virtue or morality is a main and necessary spring of popular or republican governments. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to all free governments. Who that is a prudent and sincere friend to them, can look with indifference on the ravages which are making in the foundation of the fabric—religion? The uncommon means which of late have been directed to this fatal end, seem to make it in a particular manner the duty of the retiring chief of a nation to warn his country against tasting of the poisonous draught.

[Cultivate, also, industry and frugality. They are auxiliaries of good morals, and great sources of private and national prosperity. Is there not room for regret, that our propensity to expense exceeds the maturity of our country for expense? Is there not more luxury among us, in various classes, than suits the actual period of our national progress? Whatever may be the apology for luxury in a country mature in all the arts which are its ministers and the means of national opulence, can it promote the advantage of a young agri-

* prosperity.

† that man.

‡ instruments of investigation.

cultural country, little advanced in manufactures, and not much advanced in wealth?*

Cherish public credit as a mean of strength and security. As one method of preserving it, use it as little as possible. Avoid occasions of expense by cultivating peace,—remembering always that the preparation against danger, by timely and provident disbursements, is often a mean of avoiding greater disbursements to repel it. Avoid the accumulation of debt by avoiding occasions of expense, and by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not transferring to posterity the burthen which we ought to bear ourselves. Recollect, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue, that to have revenue there must be taxes, that it is impossible to devise taxes which are not, more or less, inconvenient and unpleasant—that they are always a choice of difficulties—that the intrinsic embarrassment which never fails to attend a selection of objects, ought to be a motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it—and that a spirit of acquiescence in those measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies dictate, is, in an especial manner, the duty and interest of the citizens of every State.

[Cherish good faith and justice towards, and peace and harmony with, all nations. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and it cannot be but that true policy equally demands it.] It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people invariably governed by† those exalted views. Who can doubt that in a long course of time and events the fruits of such a conduct would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to the plan? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment is recommended by every sentiment which

* in the infancy of the arts, and certainly not in the manhood of wealth.

† exalted justice and benevolence.

ennobles human nature.—Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

Towards the execution of such a plan, *nothing is more essential than that †antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others, should be avoided—and that instead of them we should cultivate just and amicable feelings towards all. . . . That nation, which indulges towards another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness is, in some degree, a slave. . . . It is a slave to its animosity, or to its affection—either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and interest. [Antipathy against one nation, which never fails to beget a similar sentiment in the other,] disposes each more readily to offer injury and insult to the other, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and untractable, when accidental or trifling differences arise. Hence frequent quarrels‡ and bitter and obstinate contests. The nation, urged by resentment and rage, sometimes impels the government to war, contrary to its own calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in this propensity, and does through passion, what reason would forbid at other times; it makes the animosity of the nations subservient to hostile projects, which originate in ambition and other sinister motives. The peace, often, and sometimes the liberty of nations, has been the victim of this cause.

In like manner,§ a passionate attachment of one nation to another produces multiplied ills. Sympathy for the favorite nation, promoting|| the illusion of a supposed common interest, in cases where it does not exist, ¶the enmities of the one betrays into a participation in its quarrels and wars, without adequate inducements or justifications. It leads to the concession of privileges to one nation,

* it is very material.

† that while we entertain proper impressions of particular cases, of friendly or unfriendly conduct of different foreign nations towards us, we nevertheless avoid fixed and rooted antipathies against any, or passionate attachments for any; instead of these cultivating, as a general rule, just and amicable feelings towards all.

‡ broils.

§ So likewise.

|| facilitating.

¶ and communicating to one.

and to the denial of them to others—which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concession, by an unnecessary yielding of what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and retaliation in the party from whom an equal privilege is withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted* citizens, who devote themselves to the views of the favorite foreign power, facility in betraying or sacrificing the interests of their own country, even with popularity,† gilding with‡

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are peculiarly alarming to the enlightened, independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to intrigue with domestic factions, to practise with success the arts of seduction, to mislead§ the public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils? Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, destines the former to revolve round the latter as its satellite.

Against the mischiefs of foreign influence all the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly|| exerted;¶ but the jealousy of it to be useful must be impartial, else it becomes an instrument of the very influence to be avoided instead of a defence** against it.

Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, leads to see danger only on one side, and serves to veil†† the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who resist the intrigues of the favorite, become suspected and odious. Its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to betray their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations,

* or deluded.

† without odium.

‡ the appearance of a virtuous impulse, the base yieldings of ambition or corruption.

§ “mislead” for “misdirect.”

|| continually.

¶ all history and experience in different ages and nations has proved that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government.

** guard.

†† and second.

ought to be to have as little *political* connection with them as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with circumspection, indeed, but with perfect good faith; here* let it stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which have none or a very remote relation to us. Hence she must be involved in frequent contests, the causes of which will be essentially foreign to us. Hence, therefore, it must necessarily be unwise on our part to implicate ourselves by an artificial connection in the ordinary vicissitudes of European politics—in the combination and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites us to a different course, and enables us to pursue it. If we remain a united people, under an efficient government, the period is not distant when we may defy material injury from external annoyance—when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we shall at any time resolve to observe, to be violated with caution—when it will be the interest of belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, to be very careful how either forced us to throw our weight into the opposite scale—when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall dictate.

Why should we forego the advantages of so felicitous a situation? Why quit our own ground to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with any part of Europe, should we entangle our prosperity and peace in the nets of European ambition, rivalry, interest, or caprice?

Permanent alliance, intimate connection with any part of the foreign world, is to be avoided; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me never be understood as patronizing infidelity to pre-existing engagements. These must be observed in their true and genuine sense.†

* but there.

† But 'tis not necessary, nor will it be prudent, to extend them. 'Tis our true policy.

Harmony, liberal intercourse, and commerce with all nations, are recommended by justice, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal hand, neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences—consulting the natural course of things—*diffusing* and *diversifying* by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing—establishing with powers so disposed* temporary† rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion of interest will permit, but temporary; and liable to be abandoned or varied, as time, experience, and future circumstances may dictate—remembering‡ that it is folly in one nation to expect disinterested favor in another—that to accept§ is to part with a portion of its independence, and that it may find itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and of being reproached with ingratitude in the bargain. There can be no greater error in national policy than to desire, expect, or calculate upon real favors. 'Tis an illusion that experience must cure, that a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend—counsels suggested by laborious reflection, and matured by a various experience, I dare not hope that they will make the strong and lasting impressions I wish—that they will control the current of the passions or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of all nations.

But|| if they may even produce partial benefit, some occasional good . . . that they sometimes recur to moderate the violence of party spirit—to warn against the evils of foreign intrigue—to guard

as a general principle, to avoid permanent or close alliances. Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments in a respectably defensive position, we may safely trust to occasional alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

* In order to give to trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and enable the government to support them.

† and conventional.

§ any thing under that character.

‡ always.

|| I may flatter myself.

against the impositions of pretended patriotism—the having offered them, must always afford me a precious consolation.

How far in the execution of my present office I have been guided by the principles which have been recommended,* the public records and the external evidences of my conduct must witness. My conscience assures me that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In reference to the present war of Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the key to my plan, sanctioned by your approving voice, and that of your Representatives in Congress—the spirit of that measure has continually governed me—uninfluenced and unawed by the attempts of any of the warring powers, their agents, or partisans, to deter or divert from it.

After deliberate consideration, and the best lights I could obtain [and from men who did not agree in their views of the origin, progress, and nature of that war], I was satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right and was bound in propriety and interest to take a neutral position. And having taken it, I determined as† should depend on me to maintain it steadily and firmly.‡

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error—I am yet too sensible of my own deficiencies, not to think it possible§ that I have committed many errors—[I deprecate the evils to which they may tend]—and fervently implore the Almighty to avert or mitigate them. I shall carry with me, nevertheless, the hope that my motives will continue to be viewed by my country with indulgence, and that after forty-five years of my life, devoted with an upright zeal to the public

* “inculcated” for “recommended.”

† as far as.

‡ Here a large space is found in the draught, evidently left for the insertion of other matter.

§ “probable” for “possible.”

service, the faults of inadequate abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be, to the mansions of rest.

[Neither ambition nor interest has been the impelling cause of my actions. I never designedly misused any power confided to me. The fortune with which I came into office, is not bettered otherwise than by that improvement in the value of property which the natural progress and peculiar prosperity of our country have produced. I retire* with a pure heart,† with undefiled hands, and with ardent vows for the happiness of a country, the native soil of myself and progenitors for four generations.]

* without cause for a blush.

† with no alien sentiment to the ardor of those vows for the happiness of his country, which is so natural to a citizen who sees in it.

No. IV.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE
UNITED STATES.

(The Writings of Washington, vol. xii, p. 214.)

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,—

The period for a new election of a citizen, to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclina-

tion to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you ; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice, that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety ; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions, with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself ; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied, that, if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude, which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me ; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me ; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remem-

bered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation, which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a People. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of Government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very Liberty, which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion, that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the Independence and Liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those, which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of

our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the Union of the whole.

The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds, in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South*, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and, while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and, what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together.

by the same governments, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty. In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the UNION as a primary object of Patriotic desire. Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope, that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes, which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *Geographical* discriminations, *Northern* and *Southern*, *Atlantic* and *Western*; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief, that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings, which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those, who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a

useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the General Government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the MISSISSIPPI; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the UNION by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions, which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This Government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true Liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their Constitutions of Government. But the Constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power

and the right of the people to establish Government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government.

All obstructions to the execution of the Laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put, in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common counsels, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines, which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations, which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country;

that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that, for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but, in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries, which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of Public Liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight,) the common and

continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the Public Councils, and enfeeble the Public Administration. It agitates the Community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms ; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion, that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the Government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of Liberty. This within certain limits is probably true ; and in Governments of a Monarchical cast, Patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And, there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution, in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into dif-

ferent depositories, and constituting each the Guardian of the Public Weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment, in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for, though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit, which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits, which lead to political prosperity, Religion and Morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of Patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of Men and Citizens. The mere Politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in Courts of Justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the struc-

ture of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is, to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts, which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen, which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should coöperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be Revenue; that to have Revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised, which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment, inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties), ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all Nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and Morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great Nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt, that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages, which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a Nation with its Virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by

every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential, than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular Nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The Nation, which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The Nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the Government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of Nations has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one Nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite Nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite Nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the Nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens,

human nature

(who devote themselves to the favorite nation,) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity ; gilding, with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent Patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the Public Councils ! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake ; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial ; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious ; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our

concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams

of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that, by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion, which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course, which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But, if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my Proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my Plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your Representatives in

both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations, which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the Belligerent Powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope, that my Country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompe-

tent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man, who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government, the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, September 17th, 1796.

No. V.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

(From Autograph Copy.)

[MEMORANDUM.—With the cancelled passages restored, and printed at the foot of the pages, under the direction of James Lenox, Esq., the proprietor of the autograph. The marginal pages are those of the fifth volume of Mr. Irving's *Life of Washington*. The references at the end of the restored passages, at the foot of the pages, are to the pages of this Appendix.]

*FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

[*356]

The period for a new election of a Citizen, to administer the Executive Government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust [*], it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country—and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but [am supported by]† a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

* for another term

† act under

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire.—I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn.—The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, [*357] *had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign Nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.—

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety; and [am persuaded]* whatever partiality [may be retained]† for my services, [that]‡ in the present circumstances of our country [you] will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions [with]§ which, I first [undertook]|| the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion.—In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have, with good intentions, contributed [towards]¶ the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, [perhaps] still more in the eyes of others, has [strengthened]** the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome.—Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I

* that
§ under

† any portion of you may yet retain
|| accepted

¶ to

‡ even they
** not lessened

have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it. [*]

*In looking forward to the moment, which is [intended] [*358] to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment [of]† that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country,—for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the stedfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though [in usefulness unequal]‡ to my zeal.—If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that, [§] under circumstances in which the Passions agitated in every direction were liable to [mislead],|| amidst appearances sometimes dubious,—vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging,—in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism [the constancy of your support] was the essential prop of the efforts and [a]¶ guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to the grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows [**] that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that

* May I also have that of knowing in my retreat, that the involuntary errors, I have probably committed, have been the sources of no serious or lasting mischief to our country. I may then expect to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government; the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, I trust, of our mutual cares, dangers, and labours. [*Supra*, p. 190.]

In the margin opposite this paragraph is the following note in Washington's Autograph also erased, "obliterated to avoid the imputation of affected modesty."

† demanded by

‡ unequal in usefulness

§ the constancy of your support

|| wander and fluctuate

¶ the

** the only return I can henceforth make.

your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory [*] of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop.—But a solicitude for your welfare which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension [*359] of danger, natural to that solicitude, [urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer]† to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments; which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, [‡] and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people.—These will be offered to you with the more freedom as you can only see in them, the disinterested warnings of a departing friend, who can [possibly] have no personal motive to bias his counsels.—[Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.]

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.—

The Unity of Government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you.—It is justly so;—for it is a main Pillar in the Edifice of your real independence; [the support] of your tranquillity at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; [§] of your

* or satisfaction

† encouraged by the remembrance of your indulgent reception of my sentiments on an occasion not dissimilar to the present, urge me to offer

‡ and experience

§ in every relation

prosperity [*]; of that very Liberty which you so highly prize.—But as it is easy to foresee, that from [different]† causes, and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth;—as this is the point in your [political] fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness;—that you should cherish‡ a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment [to it, accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for *its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that [*360] it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our Country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.]§—

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest.—Citizens [by birth or choice of a common country],|| that country has a right to concentrate your affections.—The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation [¶] derived from local discriminations.—With slight shades of difference, you have the same Religion, Manners, Habits, and political Principles.—

* in every shape

† various

‡ towards it

§ that you should accustom yourselves to reverence it as the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity, adapting constantly your words and actions to that momentous idea; that you should watch for its preservation with jealous anxiety, discountenance whatever may suggest a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and frown upon the first dawning of any attempt to alienate any portion of our Country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the several parts.—[*Supra*, p. 192.]

|| of a common country by birth or choice

¶ to be

You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together.—The Independence and Liberty you possess are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts—of common dangers, sufferings and successes.—

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your Interest.—Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the Union of the whole.

The *North* in an [unrestrained]* intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal Laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter [†] great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise—and precious materials of manufacturing industry.—The *South* in the same intercourse, *benefiting [*361] by the agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated;—and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted.—The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home.—The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort,—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest, as *one Nation*. [Any other]‡ tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, [whether derived]§ from its own separate strength, or from

* unfettered

† many of the peculiar

‡ The

§ either

an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign Power, must be intrinsically precarious. [*]

[†] While [then] every part of our Country thus [feels]‡ an immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parts§ [combined cannot fail to find] in the united mass of means and efforts [||] greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign Nations; and, [what is]¶ of inestimable value! they must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves which [so frequently]** afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by *the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce; but [*362] which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues would stimulate and embitter.—Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown Military establishments, which under any form of Government are inauspicious to liberty, and which [are to be regarded]†† as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty: In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to [every]‡‡ reflecting and virtuous mind,—[and]§§ exhibit the continuance of the UNION as a primary object of Patriotic desire.—Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere?—Let experience solve it.—To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal.—[We are authorised]|||| to hope that a

* liable every moment to be disturbed by the fluctuating combinations of the primary interests of Europe, which must be expected to regulate the conduct of the Nations of which it is composed.—[*Supra*, p. 193.]

† And	‡ finds	\$ of it
cannot fail to find	¶ which is an advantage	** inevitably
†† there is reason to regard	‡‡ any	§§ they
'Tis natural		

proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'Tis well worth a fair and full experiment. [*] With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, [affecting]† all parts of our country [‡], while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be [reason]§ to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavour to weaken its bands. [||]—

[*363] *In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that [any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by]¶ *Geographical* discriminations—*Northern* and *Southern*—*Atlantic*

* It may not possibly be found, that the spirit of party, the machinations of foreign powers, the corruption and ambition of individual citizens are more formidable adversaries to the Unity of our Empire than any inherent difficulties in the scheme. Against these the mounds of national opinion, national sympathy and national jealousy ought to be raised.—[*Supra*, p. 194.]

† as

‡ have

§ cause in the effect itself

|| Besides the more serious causes already hinted as threatening our Union, there is one less dangerous, but sufficiently dangerous to make it prudent to be upon our guard against it. I allude to the petulance of party differences of opinion. It is not uncommon to hear the irritations which these excite vent themselves in declarations that the different parts of the United States are ill affected to each other, in menaces that the Union will be dissolved by this or that measure. Intimations like these are as indiscreet as they are intemperate. Though frequently made with levity and without any really evil intention, they have a tendency to produce the consequence which they indicate. They teach the minds of men to consider the Union as precarious;—as an object to which they ought not to attach their hopes and fortunes;—and thus chill the sentiment in its favour. By alarming the pride of those to whom they are addressed, they set ingenuity at work to depreciate the value of the thing, and to discover reasons of indifference towards it. This is not wise.—It will be much wiser to habituate ourselves to reverence the Union as the palladium of our national happiness; to accommodate constantly our words and actions to that idea, and to discountenance whatever may suggest a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned. (In the margin opposite this *paragraph* are the words, "Not important enough.")—[*Supra*, p. 194.]

¶ our parties for some time past have been too much characterized by

and *Western*; [whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views.]* One of the expedients of Party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts.—You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heartburnings which spring from these misrepresentations;—They tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection.—The inhabitants of our Western country have lately had a useful lesson on this [head.]†—They have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the Treaty with *Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, [*364] throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the General Government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the MISSISSIPPI.—They have been witnesses to the formation of two Treaties, that with G. Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign Relations towards confirming their prosperity.—Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the UNION by which they were procured?—Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their Brethren, and connect them with Aliens?—

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a Government for

* These discriminations,——the mere contrivance of the spirit of Party, (always dexterous to seize every handle by which the passions can be wielded, and too skilful not to turn to account the sympathy of neighbourhood,) have furnished an argument against the Union as evidence of a real difference of local interests and views; and serve to hazard it by organizing larger districts of country, under the leaders of contending factions; whose rivalships, prejudices and schemes of ambition, rather than the true interests of the Country, will direct the use of their influence. If it be possible to correct this poison in the habit of our body politic, it is worthy the endeavours of the moderate and the good to effect it.—[*Supra*, p. 195.]

† subject

the whole is indispensable.—No alliances however strict between the parts can be an adequate substitute.—They must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced.—Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government, better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns.—This government, the offspring of our own choice uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its Laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true Liberty.—The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their Constitutions of Government.—But the Constitution which at any time exists, 'till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole People, is sacredly obligatory upon all.—The very idea of the power and the right of the People to establish Government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government.

[*365] *All obstructions to the execution of the Laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character with [the real] design to direct, controul, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle and of fatal tendency.—They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put, [*] in the place of the delegated will of the Nation, the will of a party;—often a small but artful and enterprizing minority of the community;—and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public adminis-

tration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils and modified by mutual interests.—However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, [*] they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the Power of the People and to usurp for themselves the reins of Government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.—

Towards the preservation of your Government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care [the]† spirit of innovation upon its principles however specious the pretexts.—One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the Constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, [and thus to]‡ undermine what cannot be directly overthrown.—In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of Governments, as of other human institutions—that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing Constitution of a Country—that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion exposes *to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion:—and remember, [*366] especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a Government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of Liberty is indispensable,—Liberty itself will find in such a Government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest Guardian.—[It is indeed little else than a name, where the Government is too feeble to with-

* and purposes

† a

‡ to

stand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the Society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.]*

I have already intimated to you the danger of Parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on Geographical discriminations.—Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the Spirit of Party, generally.

This Spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from [our]† nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the [human] mind.—It exists under different shapes in all Governments, more or less stifled, controuled or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.—[‡]

[*367] *The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissen-

* Owing to you as I do a frank and free disclosure of my heart, I shall not conceal from you the belief I entertain, that your Government as at present constituted is far more likely to prove too feeble than too powerful.—[*Supra*, p. 198.]

† human

‡ In Republics of narrow extent, it is not difficult for those who at any time hold the reins of Power, and command the ordinary public favor, to overturn the established [constitution]* in favor of their own aggrandizement.—The same thing may likewise be too often accomplished in such Republics, by partial combinations of men, who though not in office, from birth, riches, or other sources of distinction, have extraordinary influence and numerous [adherents.]†—By debauching the Military force, by surprising some commanding citadel, or by some other sudden and unforeseen movement the fate of the Republic is decided.—But in Republics of large extent, usurpation can scarcely make its way through these avenues.—The powers and opportunities of resistance of a wide extended and numerous nation, defy the successful efforts of the ordinary Military force, or of any collections which wealth and patronage may call to their aid.—In such Republics, it is safe to assert, that the conflicts of popular factions are the chief, if not the only inlets, of usurpation and Tyranny.—[*Supra*, p. 198.]

* order

† retainers

sion, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism.—But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism.—The disorders and miseries, which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual: and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of Public Liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of Party are sufficient to make it the interest] and the duty of a wise People to discourage and restrain it.—

It serves always to distract the Public Councils and enfeeble the Public administration.—It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection.—It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access [to the Government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus, the policy and the will of one country, are subjected to the policy and will of another.]*

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the Administration of the Government, and serve to keep alive the Spirit of Liberty.—This within certain limits is probably true—and in Governments of a Monarchical cast, Patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour, upon *the spirit of party.—But in those of the popular character, in [*368] Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged.—From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose,—and there being

* through the channels of party passions. It frequently subjects the policy of our own country to the policy of some foreign country, and even enslaves the will of our Government to the will of some foreign Government.—[*Supra*, p. 199.]

constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it.—A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, [instead of warming, it should]* consume.—

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres; avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another.—The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, [†] whatever [the form of government, a real]‡ despotism.—A just estimate of that love of power, and [§] proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position.—The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the Guardian of the Public Weal [against]|| invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes.—To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them.—If in the opinion of the People, the distribution or modification of the Constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates.—But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the [customary]¶ weapon by which free governments are destroyed.—The precedent [**] must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or [transient]†† benefit which the use [‡‡] can at any time yield.—

[*369] *Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and morality are indispensable sup-

* it should not only warm, but

§ the

** of its use

|| from

†† temporary

† under

¶ usual and natural

‡‡ itself

‡ forms a

ports.—In vain would that man claim the tribute of Patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great Pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of Men and Citizens.—The mere Politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them.—A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity.—Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in Courts of Justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion.—Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure—reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.—

'Tis substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government.—The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of Free Government.—Who that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?—

[Promote then as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge.—In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.]*—*

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish

* Cultivate industry and frugality, as auxiliaries to good morals and sources of private and public prosperity.—Is there not room to regret that our propensity to expense exceeds our means for it? Is there not more luxury among us and more diffusively, than suits the actual stage of our national progress? Whatever may be the apology for luxury in a country, mature in the Arts which are its ministers, and the cause of national opulence—can it promote the advantage of a young country, almost wholly agricultural, in the infancy of the arts, and certainly not in the maturity of wealth?—[*Supra*, p. 201.]

(Over this paragraph in the original a piece of paper is wafered, on which the passage is written as printed in the text.)

[*370] *public credit.—One method of preserving it is to use it as [sparingly]* as possible:—avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it—avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by [shunning]† occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of Peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your Representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should [co-operate.]‡—To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be Revenue—that to have Revenue there must be taxes—that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant—that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the Government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining Revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.—

Observe good faith and justice towards all Nations. [§] Cultivate peace and harmony with all.—Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it?—It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a People always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence.—Who can doubt that in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advan-

* little

† avoiding

‡ coincide

§ and cultivate peace and harmony with all, for in public as well as in private transactions, I am persuaded that honesty will always be found to be the best policy.—
[*Supra*, p. 202.]

tages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected *the permanent felicity of a Nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is [*371] recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature.—Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan nothing is more essential than that [permanent, inveterate]* antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated.—The Nation, which indulges towards another [an]† habitual hatred or [an]‡ habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interests.—Antipathy in one Nation against another [§] disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.—Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests.—The Nation prompted by ill-will and resentment sometimes impels to War the Government, contrary to [the best]|| calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the [national] propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject;—at other times, it makes the animosity of the Nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives.—The peace often, sometimes perhaps the Liberty, of Nations, has been the victim.—

So likewise a passionate attachment of one Nation for another produces a variety of evils.—Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one [¶]

* rooted

† a

‡ a

§ begets of course a similar sentiment in that other,—[*Supra*, p. 203.]

|| its own

¶ another

the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification: It leads also to concessions to the favourite [*372] *Nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the Nation making the concessions; [*] by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained,† and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens, (who devote themselves to the favourite Nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity:—gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption or infatuation.—

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot.—How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, [I conjure you to] believe me, [fellow citizens],‡ the jealousy of a free people ought to be [constantly]§ awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government.—But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it.—Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil

* 1stly

† 2dly

‡ my friends,

§ incessantly

and even second the arts of influence on the other.—Real Patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.—

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign Nations *is, [in extending our commercial relations], to have with them as little *Political* connection as possible.—So far as [*373] we have already formed engagements let them be fulfilled with [*] perfect good faith.—Here let us stop.—

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation.—Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns.—Hence therefore it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by [†] artificial [ties]‡ in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, [or]§ the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships, or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course.—If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve [upon]|| to be scrupulously respected.—When [¶] belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will [nòt] lightly hazard the giving us provocation [**]; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest guided by [††] justice shall counsel.—

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation?—Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground?—Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace

* circumspection indeed, but with

† an

‡ connection § in || to observe

¶ neither of two

** to throw our weight into the opposite scale;

†† our

and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humour, or caprice?—

'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances [*] with any portion of the foreign world;—so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it—for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to [existing]† engagements, ([I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs]‡, that [374*] *honesty is [always] the best policy).—[I repeat it therefore, let those engagements]§ be observed in their genuine sense.—But in my opinion it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.—

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectably defensive posture, we may safely trust to [temporary]|| alliances for extraordinary emergencies.—

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest.—But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand:—neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences;—consulting the natural course of things;—diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing;—establishing with Powers so disposed—in order to give to trade a stable course, to define the rights of our Merchants and to enable the Government to support them—conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit; but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that 'tis folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors [from]¶ another,—that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character—that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having

* intimate connections

† pre-existing

‡ for I hold it to be as true in public as in private transactions,

§ those must

|| occasional

¶ at

given equivalents for nominal favours and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more.—There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favours from Nation to Nation.—'Tis an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my Countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression, I could wish,—that they will controul the usual current of the passions or prevent our Nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of Nations.—But if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of
 [*375]
 *some partial benefit; some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism, this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.—

How far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public Records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to You, and to the World.—To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting War in Europe, my Proclamation of the 22d of April 1793 is the index to my plan.—Sanctioned by your approving voice and by that of Your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me :—uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, [*] I was well satisfied that our country, under all the

* (and from men disagreeing in their impressions of the origin, progress, and nature of that war.)—[*Supra*, p. 207.]

circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest, to take a Neutral position.—Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.—

[The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, [it is not necessary]* on this occasion [to detail.] I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the Belligerent Powers, has been virtually admitted by all.—]†

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without [*376] *anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every Nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of Peace and Amity towards other Nations.—

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct, will best be referred to your own reflections and experience.—With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

* some of them of a delicate nature would be improperly the subject of explanation.

† The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, some of them of a delicate nature, would be improperly the subject of explanation on this occasion. I will barely observe that according to my understanding of the matter, that right so far from being denied by any belligerent Power, has been virtually admitted by all.—

This paragraph is then erased from the word “conduct,” and the following sentence interlined, “would be improperly the subject of particular discussion on this occasion. I will barely observe that to me they appear to be warranted by well-established principles of the Laws of Nations as applicable to the nature of our alliance with France in connection with the circumstances of the War, and the relative situation of the contending Parties.”

A piece of paper is afterwards wafered over both, on which the paragraph as it stands in the text is written, and on the margin is the following note: “This is the first draft, and it is questionable which of the two is to be preferred.”

Though in reviewing the incidents of my Administration, I am unconscious of intentional error—I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I [may] have committed many errors.—[Whatever they may be I]* fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate [the evils to which they may tend.]† —I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest. [‡]

*Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and [‡377] actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man, who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for [several]§ generations;—I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good Laws under a free Government,—the ever favourite object of my heart,

* I deprecate the evils to which they may tend, and—[*Supra*, p. 207.]

† them

‡ May I without the charge of ostentation add, that neither ambition nor interest has been the impelling cause of my actions—that I have never designedly misused any power confided to me nor hesitated to use one, where I thought it could redound to your benefit? May I without the appearance of affectation say, that the fortune with which I came into office is not bettered otherwise than by the improvement in the value of property which the quick progress and uncommon prosperity of our country have produced? May I still further add without breach of delicacy, that I shall retire without cause for a blush, with no sentiments alien to the force of those vows for the happiness of his country so natural to a citizen who sees in it the native soil of his progenitors and himself for four generations?—[*Supra*, p. 208.]

On the margin opposite this paragraph is the following note: "This paragraph may have the appearance of self-distrust and mere vanity."

§ four

and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours, and dangers. [*]—[*Supra*, p. 190.]

G^o. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, }
17th September, } 1796.

* The paragraph beginning with the words, " May I without the charge of ostentation add," having been struck out, the following note is written on the margin of that which is inserted in its place in the text :—" Continuation of the paragraph preceding the last ending with the word ' rest. ' "





RETURN CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
TO → 202 Main Library

LOAN PERIOD 1	2	3
HOME USE		
4	5	6

ALL BOOKS MAY BE RECALLED AFTER 7 DAYS

1-month loans may be renewed by calling 642-3405

6-month loans may be recharged by bringing books to Circulation Desk

Renewals and recharges may be made 4 days prior to due date

DUE AS STAMPED BELOW

JUN 25 1991

Oct 13

Feb 1

~~AUTO DISC CIRC JUL 20 '92~~

FEB 21 1994

~~AUTO DISC CIRC DEC 01 '93~~

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY
 FORM NO. DD6, 60m, 12/80 BERKELEY, CA 94720

YC 50889

ADY-UC

U.C. BERKELEY LIBRARIES



C008523232

M181943

E312
.B5
B5

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

